



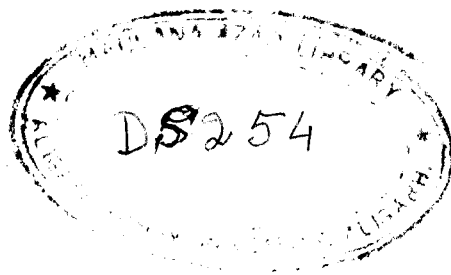
MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT

Dissertation Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
PROFESSOR S. A. H. HAQQI

BY
ZAFAR ALI KHAN

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh
November, 1980



DS254

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	1-v
<u>CHAPTERS</u>	
I INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER	1
II THE COMMUNAL RIOTS	19
III GENESIS AND ROLE OF THE MUSLIM MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT	44
IV MUSLIM MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT: AIMS AND ORGANIZATION	132
V CONCLUSION	146
APPENDIX I	157
APPENDIX II	172
BIBLIOGRAPHY	183

PREFACE

After Independence, the Muslims were very much disheartened and frustrated because of the post-partition happenings and the attitude of the majority community, even of the Government towards them. There was great prejudice, suspicion and even hatred against them. The doors of lucrative employment and services were closed for them. In spite of such social climate, the Muslims retained their courage and faith and decided to remain in India, firmly resolved to play a decent role in Indian political as well as social and economic life of the country.

But there can be no denying that after Independence, they had become politically ineffective due to certain causes and they could not pressurise the Government for solving their various problems, which had emerged after Independence and become very important for them.

The most important problem, which had affected the whole Muslim community, was the persistence of the communal riots almost in the whole country. The terrible communal riots in eastern India in 1964, in which hundreds of Muslims were slaughtered, provided the necessary catalyst for the formation of a new, broadly based confederation of the Muslim organizations to articulate the grievances of the Muslims and to establish unity and

cooperation among the various segments of the Muslims - a common Muslim platform for Muslims. The necessity was strongly felt and, thus, preparations were made in June-July, 1964, under the leadership of Dr. Syed Mahmud, the veteran Congressman, for a Convention of Muslim leaders belonging to all the leading Muslim organizations in India, which was held in Lucknow on August 8 and 9, 1964 in the Darul-Uloom Nadwat-ul-Ulema, the great and famous seminary of Islamic teaching and learning. The Convention, which included representatives of every segment of Muslim opinion, passed a series of resolutions, which emphasised the Muslim concern for their very existence in India in the wake of the terrible riots of that year. It was seriously thought that without unity and cooperation among the various sections of the Muslims, the problems of the Muslims would remain unsolved. For this purpose the Convention agreed to establish a permanent organization, to be called the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat (Muslim Consultative Committee). The MMM was founded under resolution No. 10 of the Convention and later it was referred in its Constitution, 'The Majlis-e-Mushawarat' and now it is commonly known as the 'Majlis-e-Mushawarat'. Dr. Syed Mahmud was then elected its President.

The present work is confined to the emergence and the role of the MMM. The whole thesis has been divided

into five chapters. The first chapter, 'Independence and After', deals with the participation of the Muslims in the Freedom Struggle Movement and the role they played.

The second chapter, 'The Communal Riots', deals with the communal passion, which was aggravated by Hindu revivalism and the mis-interpretation of history, and which led to communal violence on a large scale. The communal out-breaks, which took place during the sixties and, and in which mostly Muslims were the victims created a sense of humiliation and frustration among the whole Muslim community and weakened the secular structure of the country.

The third chapter, 'Genesis and Role of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat', deals with the necessity of unity and amity among the various Muslim organisations for the existence of the Muslim community in India. This had encouraged them to form a new organization. Secondly, it dealt with the role the newly formed organization played.

The fourth chapter, 'Aims and Organization', deals with the aims and objectives, as well as organizational setup of the MMM.

The last chapter, 'Conclusion' summarizes the findings. The organization, which had come into existence with great hopes and expectations for establishing unity and cooperation among the Muslims as well as in providing them a

common platform, failed in its objectives and could not fulfil its promises. Neither could it succeed in bringing about peace and amity between the two major communities nor could it minimise the gap between the two. In course of time, it became a defunct organization. But the reasons for its failure were too complex and even deep-rooted in Indian history of politics, while the problems were too intricate and multi-dimensional for loose minority organization to tackle. In spite of its ineffectiveness, it, however, played a prominent role in articulating the demands of the Indian Muslims and urging the Government to solve them. It tried to establish unity among various sections of the Muslim community and helped to create courage and confidence among the Muslims. It, also, tried its best to create an atmosphere of peace and harmony in the country.

For the completion of this work, I have a debt of gratitude to my Supervisor, Professor S.A.H. Haqqi, Head, Department of Political Science, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, without whose guidance, help and ceaseless encouragement this work could not have been completed. In spite of his preoccupations, he allowed me to frequently encroach upon his valuable time, and encouraged me in my moments of difficulty.

I am also grateful to Professor Nijat-Ullah Siddiqi, Head, Department of Islamic Studies, Aligarh Muslim University, for his kind help and valuable suggestions.

I am indebted to Mr. S. Aminul Hasan Rizvi, Chief Editor, the Radiance Views Weekly(Delhi) for rendering me much help and assistance concerning the material. I am also much grateful to Mr. Baqar, Incharge of the Theses and Periodicals Section, Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U., for showing the loose newspapers.

I am grateful to Mr. Jalal-ul-Haque, Lecturer, Department of Philosophy, A.M.U., and Mr. Iqbal Ghani Khan, Research Assistant, Department of History, A.M.U., for their help in the translation of some Urdu material and the Constitution of the Majlis respectively, and to the teaching and non-teaching staff and friends of the Department of Political Science for their encouragement and assistance. I alone, however, am responsible for the facts and opinions mentioned in this dissertation.

I should also extend my thanks to Mr. Abdul Aleem Ansari, Senior Stenographer, Department of Political Science, A.M.U., for correct typing of the manuscript.

Aligarh
November ,1980


(ZAFAR ALI KHAN)

CHAPTER I

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

With the joint struggle of the Hindus and the Muslims, India became free on August 15, 1947, and a new chapter of history opened as the Indians became the master of their fate. Needless to emphasise here that how much the Muslims participated in the freedom movements, but it is quite evident that they fought side by side with their countrymen in achieving freedom and suffered very much for this common cause. The role of Muslims in the freedom struggle is very significant as the whole Muslim community, particularly, the Ulema, the educationalists, the elites, the poets and the journalists, struggled for freedom and sacrificed their lives. The Ulema, from the very beginning, played a guiding role in the freedom struggle and were severely dealt with the Britishers. The efforts of Tipu Sultan, Nawab Sirajud-daulah, Nawab Aliwardi Khan, Syed Ahmed Shaheed, Maulana Ismail Shaheed, Haji Imdad Ullah and the Mujahideen etc. are, too, very significant in this direction. The role of the Muslims in the first freedom struggle (1857) is very remarkable and stirring. After the Great Revolt of 1857, the Muslims were declared responsible for it and afterwards, they had to bear serious consequences.

1. Tufail Ahmad, Musalmano ka Raushan Mustaqbil (Urdu), (Delhi: Kutub Khana Azizia, 1945), p. 110, and Rajendra Prasad, India Divided (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946), p. 88.

We can criticise the Muslim League, but as a matter of fact, the League joined the freedom movement and made serious efforts for it, although, it adopted a different policy in the last days of the freedom struggle and strongly advocated and demanded the partition of the country.²

The long and lethal struggle for the freedom temporarily appeared very sweet. Everyone felt satisfaction for a while, but in the next moment everyone felt pain and agony. The country was divided into two sovereign states i.e., India and Pakistan. What happened after the partition, was very pathetic. John Connell in his book, Auchinleck : A Critical Biography, writes:

"The Supreme Commander, Lord Auchinleck, was in his plane on August 14 from Lahore to Delhi. As he looked down on the great plain of Punjab, he saw smoke rising from every village to the limits of the vast horizon, and along the dusty roads the endless streams of refugees trudging east and west. The greatest exodus on either side just started beginning. Millions of Muslims from East Punjab and non-Muslims from West Punjab, who had lost all hopes of security and every moment were afraid of brutal attacks were ready to leave their hearths and homes.

2. Ibid., p. 201.

The fate of the minorities in areas directly affected by the partition of the country was hanging in the balance. The National leaders both in East and West Punjab lost complete control of the situation".³

India was declared sovereign, Democratic Republic on January 26, 1950, adopting secularism as the bases of the state. On a memorable day in April, 1948, the Constituent Assembly passed a resolution, which, according to K.M. Munshi, is a definition of Indian secularism:

"Whereas, it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that Communalism should be eliminated from Indian life".⁴

In August, 1947, the Advisory Committee on Minorities recommended joint electorate with reservation of seats in legislatures for ten years for Muslims, Christians and the Scheduled Castes.⁵ Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru defended this concession by saying that he was not sure how the people would behave towards the minority of those reservation and, hence, the recommendations were not granted.⁶ There were

3. Quoted in Mohammad Raza Khan, What Price Freedom (Madras: Mohammad Raza Khan, 1969), p. 296.

4. Constituent Assembly Debates, Vol.VIII, 1949, p. 316.

5. Ibid., p. 310.

6. Ibid., pp. 329-30.

great differences of opinion between the Muslims and the representatives of the Assembly on this issue. Finally, the Advisory Committee resolved on May 11, 1949, "The system of reservation for minorities other than Scheduled Castes⁷ in legislature be abolished". It was abolished on the resolution of Sardar Patel, the Chairman of the Committee. Some Muslim representatives opposed this resolution, while others, like Ismail Khan, Z.H. Lari, Naziruddin Ahmad Zaidi etc. supported the Patel's resolution vigorously. Ismail Khan⁸ asked the Muslims not to obstruct the establishment of a secular state in India and Tajammul Husain⁹ appealed to all the minorities to join the majority in creating a secular state.

10

Pt. Nehru agreed that secularism was "an ideal to be aimed at, and that they were all products of the post, carrying in their hearts and minds the taint of commands. However, he reminded the Assembly, that the establishment of a secular state was an act of faith for all of us, an act of faith above all for majority community because they will have to show after this they can behave to others in

7. Ibid., p. 311.

8. Ibid., p. 324.

9. Ibid., pp. 332-38.

10. Ibid., p. 332.

a generous, fair and just way. Let us live up to that faith.¹¹
 Dr. Mukerjee and Sardar Hukum Singh also emphasised that
 in a secular state it was the responsibility of the majority¹²
 "to ensure the security of the minority". The latter asked
 the majority not to "boast about their national outlook",
 as an outlook was not a matter of personal choice. The
 former exhorted the majority "to prove by actual work, to
 prove by actual example that the protestations made so far¹³
 as genuine". Sardar Patel pointed out that "the future
 of minority, any minority, is to trust the majority. It
 will be a misfortune to this country if the majority does¹⁴
 not realize its own responsibility".

15

Begum Aizaz Rasool¹⁵ appealed passionately to the
 minorities to trust in the goodwill of the majority and to
 work whole-heartedly for building a truly secular state.
 "Trust begets trust", she said, and "when we place a sacred
 trust in the hands of the majority, it is sure to realize
 its responsibility". Responding to this plea, Sardar Patel¹⁶
 declared, "Trust us and see what happens".

11. Cited by Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India (Delhi: Vikas, 1973), p. 3.

12. Ibid., pp. 799-800.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., pp. 351-54.

15. Ibid., pp. 300-303.

16. Ibid., pp. 251-54.

when the Constituent Assembly is on process in adopting India to be a secular state, the social climate of the country was worsened due to communal riots. There were burnings, arson, killings, looting etc. in both the countries. The most affected areas were Bihar, West Bengal and Punjab. It was reported that 9,300 persons had fled to West Bengal from Bihar on the outbreak of communal riots. The situation worsened as the Assembly wended its weary from one provision to another. The carnage^{at} Calcutta, unprecedented in magnitude sparked off a chain of communal riots. Thousands of persons were slaughtered, mangled¹⁸ and dispossessed.

What followed partition was more cruel and savage. Pt. Nehru described graphically what he saw during those days:

"During the last three weeks, I have wandered about West Punjab and East Punjab, and my mind is full of the horror the things, that I saw and heard. During the last few days in Punjab and Delhi, I have supped my fill of horror. That indeed is the only feast that we can have now maddened people, influenced day after day by stories of terrible events, has gone completely mad and behaved as only mad people cards - is this the realization of our

17. The Statesman (New Delhi), May 1, 1947.

18. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, pp. cit., p.8.

dreams? (is) all the good work that we have done in these many years - not going to bear fruit at all".¹⁹

Writing of those months, Nehru wrote later:

"Fear and hatred blinded our minds and all the restraints which civilization imposes were swept away. Horror piled on horror, and sudden emptiness seized us at the brute savagery of human beings. The lights seemed all to go out; not all, for a few still flickered in the raging tempest. We sorrowed for the dead and the dying, and for those whose suffering was greater than that of death. We sorrowed even more for India, our common mother, for whose freedom we had laboured these long years".

Pt. Nehru disclosed at a Press Conference that 1,000 persons had been killed in Delhi and 15,000 in East Punjab and West Punjab. He added:

"May be, 1,250,000 people have come from West Punjab to East Punjab and a similar number are on the move on either side and probably another half a million are waiting to be moved".

Pt. Nehru also said that he was dealing with a situation "which was analogous to war".²⁰

19. The Statesman, September 10, 1947.

20. Ibid.

In what climate as Gandhiji pointed out, "man feared²¹ man and neighbour distrusted neighbour". Even the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Patel, suspected that most of the Muslims were disloyal to India and suggested that for such²² persons, "it was better to go to Pakistan". It was, in fact, suggested in some circles that all the Indian Muslims²³ should either be "wiped out or banished". Recitation from the Holy Quran in the prayer meetings of Gandhiji was objected to. Gandhiji's fast to stop the killings of Muslims in Delhi sparked off noisy demonstration, in which the slogan raised, "Let Gandhiji die". A demonstration shouted: "Anyone who wishes to die in defence of Muslims does not²⁴ deserve to live".

Now the Muslims in Delhi were killed, burnt and looted, Moulana Azad says in his book, India Wins Freedom:

"Apart from the city proper, there were suburbs such as Karol Bagh, Lodi Colony, Subzimandi and Sadar Bazar, which had a large Muslim population. In all these areas, life and property were no longer safe. Nor was it possible in the existing circumstances

21. Pyare Lal, Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase (Ahmedabad: Navjeevan, 1958), Vol. II, p. 679.

22. The Statesman, September 19, 1947.

23. Ibid., September 12, 1947.

24. Ibid., January 15, 1948.

to provide them with complete military protection. At one stage, the situation in these areas became so bad that no Muslim house holder could go to sleep at night with the confidence that he would be alive next morning".²⁵

Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman, the leader of the Muslim League Party, after the Independence, in his book, Pathway to Pakistan, says:

"The period between August and September, 1947 was the blackest period in Indian history - a period of woe, misery and suffering for the unprotected and the unwary neighbours were killing neighbours, friends and human life had lost all significance. Areas, which had been their homes for generation, were denuded of people. Cities and towns lost their character, for properties and men changed overnight, the old faces disappeared as if they had never existed. Northern India had become a caldron and it was at this black period of Indian history that I had become²⁶ the leader of Indian Muslims".

In this climate, the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (R.S.S.), which had acquired phenomenal popularity, and the

25. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom (New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1961), p. 211.

26. Ch. Khaliquzzaman, Pathway to Pakistan (Lahore: Longmans, Green and Company, 1964), p. 397.

Hindu Maha Sabha, which then functioned as the political organ of the R.S.S., denounced the concept of a secular state and demanded the creation of a Hindu State in India.²⁷ They argued that, like England, India too could have a state religion and could yet be liberal to the minorities. Why should the overwhelming majority of the Hindus deny themselves a pre-eminent position of the state of minority that "had shown itself disloyal to any idea of a composite state?"²⁸ Their movement for a Hindu state, "secured considerable support among certain sections of aggressive Hindus, who had long opposed what it called the policy of Muslim appeasement".²⁹

But Gandhiji and Pt. Nehru opposed the demand for a Hindu State. Pt. Nehru started every thing to secure the establishment of a secular state in India. Dr. Lohia warned that "the establishment of a Hindu State would fragment India into a Sikh State, a Jat State, a Brahmin State, and so on".³⁰

27. The Statesman, June 9, 1947.

28. K.M. Panikar, The Foundations of New India (Allen and Unwin, 1964), p. 164.

29. Ibid.

30. The Statesman, September 9, 1947. See for an exposition of the concept of a Hindu State, V.P. Savarkar, Hindu Rashtra Darshan (A collection of Presidential speeches delivered from the Hindu Mahasabha platform), (Bombay: 1949).

After a long and lengthy discussion, India weaned the State away from religion and tried to build national unity around secularism. India, therefore, offered to the religious minorities on equal share of power, religious freedom, language, culture, civilization etc. The Constitution of India establishes no state religion, creates no³¹ category of preferred citizens, throws citizenship open to³² all, guarantees equal representation in public services, forbids discrimination on the basis of religion in educational³³ institutions, introduces joint electorate to emancipate³⁴ politics from religion. It provides to all religions³⁵ denomination of freedom of religion, forbids the state³⁶ levying taxes to promote any particular religion, and prohibits imparting of religious instruction in state institutions and, on a compulsory basis, in aided and recognized³⁷ institutions. The Constitution of India also forbids discrimination against minority educational institutions³⁸ in respect of grants-in-aid.

31. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, 22. cit., p. 10.

32. Article 16.

33. Article 29(2).

34. Article 32(5).

35. Articles 25(1) and 28(1).

36. Article 2.

37. Article 28, Clauses 1 and 3.

38. Article 16(5).

On August 19, 1947, in his broadcast, Pt. Nehru voiced India's determination to put down communal and anti-social elements with a firm hand and declared:

"The Government of India will treat every Indian on an equal basis, and try to secure for him all the rights which he shares with others. Our State is not a communal State, but democratic State, in which every citizen has equal rights. The Government is determined to protect these rights".³⁹

India adopted secularism as a way of life and assured that every Indian will be treated on equal basis and religious tolerance will be accorded, expounding a very interesting thesis; an ex-Chief Justice of India wrote that Indian secularism subscribes to the Hindu philosophical tenet that all religions have elements of truth and no religion can claim the monopoly of truth. The ancient Hindu philosophers have consistently proclaimed that all religions lead to God and, unlike some other religions, Hinduism has never put forward the claim that it is alone the true religion. The spirit of toleration is the foundation of the theory of secularism.⁴⁰

39. W.H. Morris-Jones, The Government and Politics of India, (London: Hutchinson and Company, 1964-1967), p. 55.

40. P.B. Gajendragadkar, The Constitution of India: Its Philosophy and Basic Postulates (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 40.

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the late President of India, too says, "Secularism as here defined is in accordance with the ⁴¹ ancient religious tradition of India". The popular view that Hinduism radiates tolerance is, however, accepted with reservation by others also. V.K. Sinha says:

"The 'tolerance' of Hinduism is one of the myths of modern thinking ... alive by uncritical repetition. It is true that religious rituals, like those of Europe, were not features of India's past. But this fact arises from the nature of Hinduism, which permits an endless variety of opinion and beliefs, so long as they fitted into the social structure of Hinduism. Tolerance was limited to speculation alone and was not permissible to faith, which questioned the social structure based on Hindu ⁴² religion".

Thus, Charvakists concludes, "the materialist philosophers of ancient India were ruthlessly suppressed".

One writer rightly says:

41. Radhakrishnan, Recovery of Faith (1955), p. 202, and Religions and Culture (1968), p. 16.

42. V.K. Sinha, "Secularism in Indian Democracy". Quoted by/ by S.P. Aiyar (Eds.), Studies in Indian Democracy (1965), p. 76. R.Srinivasan &

"Religious tolerance of hinduism is true only of matters of faith. In practice in regard to the breaking of caste, hinduism is as intolerant as any other religion".⁴³

The Muslims, those who favoured or supported the creation of a separate homeland for the Muslims, were totally demoralised. But, even those, who had supported Gandhiji and Pt. Nehru, were bewildered and horrified by the attitude of the Hindus towards them. Maulana Azad writes in India Wins Freedom:-

"We are completely taken aback by Sardar Patel's reaction. At a time when Muslims were being murdered in Delhi in open day-light, he calmly told Gandhiji that Jawahar Lal's complaints were completely incomprehensible. There may have been some isolated incidents, but Government was doing every thing possible to protect the life and property of Muslims and nothing more could be done. In fact, he gave vent to his dissatisfaction that Jawahar Lal as the Prime Minister should express disapproval of what his Government was doing".⁴⁴

43. J.C. Winshow, "The Intelligentsia in the Christian Task", Ibid., pp. 61-62.

44. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom, op.cit., p.214. In those days how the Muslim members of the Congress Party were misbehaved and badly treated by their own friends, Aziz-ur-Rehman S/o Maulana Habibur-Rehman Ludhianvi, a veteran Congressman and Majlis-e-Ahrar leader, described it in his book, Rais-ul-Ahrar Maulana Habibur Rehman Ludhianvi Aur Hindustan Ki Junge Azadi (Urdu)

45

The Hindus blamed the Muslims for partition, and suspected them of being Pakistanis at heart; they sought to avenge not only ancient wrongs, but also the wrongs done to them in Pakistan.⁴⁶ The happening in Hyderabad, the Pakistan invasion on Kashmir, the migration of prominent and top ranking Muslim personalities like Chaudhry Khalique zaman, Z.H. Lari, Hasan Imam, Abdul Sattar Salt and Shaheed Suharwardi etc.⁴⁷ intensified the bitterness of the Hindus and aggravated the security of the Muslims. In this state of affairs a climate of violence and vandalism was created and the religious and communal forces, like the R.S.S., the Hindu Mahasabha, created such an atmosphere in which Muslims felt completely unsafe and started fastly to migrate to Pakistan.⁴⁸ There was a mass migration to Pakistan, particularly, the Muslims of Northern India.⁴⁹

After partition, the communal forces revived the Hindu nationalism, the religious revivalism that Hindu back to the glories of Hindu civilization and culture before the arrival

45. Aziz-ur-Rehman, Rais-ul-Ahrar Maulana Habibur Rehman Ludhianvi Aur Hindustan Ki Junge Azadi, op.cit.,

46. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, op. cit., p. 46.

47. Mohammad Raza Khan, What Price Freedom, op.cit., p.323.

48. Abid Hussain, Musalman Aaleen-af-Ayyam Men (Urdu), (Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, no date), p. 199.

49. Ibid.

of the Muslims in the sub-continent and asked to Muslims to join themselves, if not, it will be better to go to Pakistan. This thing was most painful to the Muslims, that they had their own religion, culture and civilisation and they were not ready to assimilate in Indian culture and civilization. In mental anguish and pain they lost hope and most of the Muslims of Northern India, particularly, U.P. and Bihar, as already said, moved to Pakistan and a large number prepared to go while there was a mass migration. Maulana Azad emotionally asked the Muslims from the great mosque of Delhi:

میرے عزیزو! آپ جانتے ہیں کہ وہ کون سی چیز جو مجھے یہاں لے آئی ہے میرے لیے شاہ جہاں کی اس یادگار مسجد میں یہ اجتماع کوئی نئی بات نہیں ہے۔ میرا نے اس زمانہ میں جس پرلین و نہار کی بہت سی گردنیں بیت چکی ہیں بلقیس یہیں سے خطاب کیا تھا، جب تمہارے چہروں پر اضطلال کے بجائے اطمینان تھا اور تمہارے دلوں میں شک کی بجائے اعتماد آج تمہارے چہروں کا اضطراب اور دلوں کی ویرانی دیکھتا ہوں تو مجھے بے اختیار پچھلے چند برسوں کی بھولی بسری کہانیاں یاد آ جاتی ہیں۔ تمہیں یاد ہے میں نے تمہیں پکارا تم نے میری زبان کاٹ لی، میں نے قلم اٹھایا اور تم نے میرے ہاتھ قلم کر دیئے، میں نے چلنا چاہا تم نے میرے پاؤں کاٹ دیئے۔ میں نے کروٹ لیتی چاہی، تم نے میری کمر توڑ دی حتیٰ کہ پچھلے سات برس کی تلخ فواہست جو تمہیں آج داغِ جدائی دے گئی، اس کے عہدِ شباب میں بھی میں نے تمہیں خطرے کی شاہراہ پر جھنجھوڑا، لیکن تم نے میری صدا سے نہ صرف احتراز کیا بلکہ نفقت و انکار کی ساری سنہیں تازہ کر دیں۔

50. Abul Kalam Azad, Khutbat-e-Azad (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, no date). Maulana Azad's speech given at Delhi in the great mosque in October, 1947 (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had a unique style of writing. If the above portion of his speech are translated, the spirit and sense may be spoiled), pp. 337-338.

”.. کہا پہنچے اور اب کہاں کھڑے ہو؟ کیا یہ خوف کی زندگی نہیں؟ کیا تمہارے حواس میں اختلال نہیں آ گیا ہے؟“

”یہ فرار کی زندگی جو تم نے ہجرت کے مقدس نام پر اختیار کی ہے، اس پر غور کرو، اپنے دلوں کو مضبوط بناؤ، اور اپنے دماغوں کو سوچنے کی عادت ڈالو اور ابھر دیکھو کہ تمہارے یہ فیصلے کتنے عاجلانہ ہیں۔ آخر کہاں جا رہے ہو اور کیوں جا رہے ہو؟“

”یہ دیکھو، مسجد کے بلند مینار تم سے اچک کر سوال کرتے ہیں کہ تم نے اپنی تاریخ کے صفحات کو کہاں گم کر دیا ہے؟ ابھی کل کی بات ہے کہ جہنما کے کناے تمہارے قافلوں نے دھنوکیا تھا اور آج تم ہو کہ تمہیں یہاں رہتے ہوئے خوف محسوس ہوتا ہے حالانکہ دھلی تمہارے خون سے سینچی ہوئی ہے۔“

”عزیزو! تبدیلیوں کے ساتھ چلو یہ نہ کہو کہ ہم اس تغیر کے لیے تیار نہ تھے بلکہ اب تیار ہو جاؤ رستائے ٹوٹ گئے، لیکن سورج تو چمک رہا ہے، اس سے کمر نہیں مانگ لو اور ان اندھیری راہوں میں بچھا دو، جہاں اجالے کی سخت ضرورت ہے۔“

”پھر کہتا ہوں اور بار بار کہتا ہوں، اپنے حواس پر قابو رکھو، اپنے گرد و پیش اپنی زندگی خود فراہم کرو۔ یہ منڈی کی چیز نہیں ہے کہ تمہیں خرید کر لادو۔ یہ تو دل کی دوکان ہی میں سے اعمال صالحہ کی فحشی سے دستیاب ہو سکتی ہے۔“

In short, we can say that after the partition, the condition of the Indian Muslims was worse than the great outbreak of 1857, in which Muslims played a leading role and they were declared responsible for it.⁵¹ The Britishers took a great revenge to Muslims, as they were looted, killed and insulted and were declared disloyal and a great enemy to the British Rule.⁵² But the thing was different that they suffered by such people with whom they had no similarity and no blood relations, but after the partition, they were punished by their own countrymen i.e. friends, neighbours and the days were more bitter and hard than 1857.

At last in a perplexed condition, the Indian Muslims decided to remain in India after the partition had, in fact, burnt their boats and resolved to share the weals and moves of this country, to which they have contributed a lot from ethical and social points of view and in many other ways.

51. Abid Hussain, Muslims Aina-e-Ayyam Man, pp. cit., p. 197.

52. Ibid., p. 205.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNAL RIOTS

In the last chapter, it has been discussed that after the partition, the Muslims were treated badly by their countrymen and the Government. They were preplanned deprived off the business, industry, job and employment and the doors of the high class services were prejudicially closed for the Muslims. The Government adopted such a policy that the Indian Muslims could not develop themselves.

As a matter of fact, a few years after the partition, were too hard and difficult to survive for Muslims, in which they were hopeless, helpless and demoralised. They had to face a hard test in which they succeeded. They collected their hopes, and firmly resolved to live in India, playing a decent role in the Indian life. But it is irony of Fate that the sequence of communal riots shattered their faith. They were badly disturbed as a new chain of communal riots started just after the sixties.

It is quite clear that there was no communal frenzy between the Hindus and the Muslims before the British ruled in India. Though, the Muslims came here as an invader

1. Abid Husain, Mughalman Ameen-al-Ayyam Men (Delhi: Maktaba Jamia, no date), p. 205.

but they became a part of the Indian life. The Muslim Kings were very much tolerated and sympathetic to their Hindu subjects. There was religious toleration and the Hindus were given full religious freedom and protection. They performed their religious ceremonies without any interference. Bernier, who visited during the time of Aurangzeb, declared that the Hindus possessed almost exclusively the² trade and wealth of the country. A Dutch traveller early in the seventeenth century was struck by the fact that a few Muslims were engaged in handicraft, industries and³ that their marketing was almost exclusively in Hindu hands.

The relations, between the Hindus and Muslims in medieval India, were too complex to brook any such generalisation. But it can be safely said that there was no communal animosity though the two lived as distinct culture groups professing and practising different religions. Therefore, there were no Hindu-Muslim riots even when the Sikh, Maratha, and Jat uprising led to enormous conflicts between these communities in the Moghal State. In the Aurangzeb's period, which in the opinion of some historians was tyrannical and worst, there was no occurrence of communal riots at the⁴ social level.

2. S.M. Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India (London: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 226.

3. Ibid., p. 227.

4. Harbans Mukhia, "Medieval Indian History and the Communal Approach". Quoted in Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India (Delhi: Vikas, 1973), p. 34.

In medieval India the State was non-secular, the society, as it is now, fragmented into diverse religious, regional, cultural, and economical groups. But medieval India, unlike modern India, was free from 'Hindu - Muslim Friction'.⁵

The late President Dr. Rajendra Prasad correctly throws light on the attitude of the Muslim Kings towards their Hindu subjects:

"The attitude of the Muslim conqueror had, on the whole, been one of toleration, and inspite of the fanatical zeal manifested by some of them at times it may be safely asserted that there had been a continuous effort to deal with the Hindus fairly".⁶

British historians interpreted the history of India for their political purposes. They poured poisons in the historical books showing that all the previous governments had been despotic, intolerant and monstrosly cruel, and that the Indian people, ever divided, were fit only to be conquered and should be grateful that their latest conquerors were just and merciful.⁷ H.M. Eliot and John Dowson, the

5. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1973), p. 25.

6. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946), p. 81.

7. Tufail Ahmad, Musalmano Ka Roshan Mustaqbil (Urdu), (Delhi: Kutubkhana Azizia, 1945), p. 440.

8

British historians, perfectly misled the history and in the 'Preface' to their monumental book, The History of India As Told By Its Own Historians, speak of :-

"Hindu slains for disputing with Mohammadans, of general prohibition against processions, worship and evolutions of other intolerant measures, of idols mutilated, of temples razed, of forcible conversions and marriages, of proscription and confiscation, of murders and massacres, (and) of the sensuality and drunkenness of the tyrants who enjoined them".

His purpose, as he confessed frankly, was to make

"our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages of British Rule, and to compel the 'Bombastic Babus' to cease ranting about partition and hold their peace".

This interpretation of the Indian history led inevitably to the formation of two schools of the Indian

8. H.M. Eliot and John Dowson, The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, Vol. I, pp. 185-186, and Rajendra Prasad, India Divided, op. cit., p. 81.

9. H.M. Eliot and John Dowson, The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, op. cit., p. 31. See also Romila Thapar, Communalism and the Writing of Ancient Indian History (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1969), p. 8.

historians, the Hindu and the Muslim communal schools, and a tussle started between the rival communities, blaming to each other.

The seed of communalism, which was purposely sowed in the British period, grew day by day, and after the Freedom it flourished so rapidly that the history-books, on the same pattern were prescribed in schools, which poured poisons in the mind of the new generations. About these books, Professor Irfan Habib says, "Feed the youth with¹⁰ tales of ancient wrong, silently calling for revenge".

Communal frenzy developed through the communal organization. The R.S.S., the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj and other Hindu organisations took advantages from the so-called secularism of the Congress and light policy towards these communal parties pretexted limited to religion. These organisations openly denounced secularism. The Hindu Mahasabha proclaimed:-

11
" Communalism is bliss".

After revocation of the ban imposed on the R.S.S., after the assassination of Gandhiji and the formation of

-
10. Irfan Habib, National Integration (Medieval Period Indian History Congress Proceeding of the Twenty-Fourth Session), (Delhi, 1964), p. 284.
 11. Hindu Outlook, August 30, 1953. Indra Prakash, the Editor of "Hindu Outlook" wrote that the Mahasabha proudly believed that "Communalism is bliss".

the Jan Sangh as the political organ of the R.S.S., the Sabha ceased to be a political force in the country. Both of them adopted a policy of hatred towards the Muslim community. After lifting the ban from R.S.S., it declared to be a cultural and religious organisation that it did not change its ideology. An exposition of the ideology of the R.S.S. may be found in the books written by Guru Golwalkar. In his book, We: Our Nationhood Defined (first published in 1939) he says:-

"German race pride has now become the topic of the day. To keep up with the purity of the race and culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the Semantic races like the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown how well nigh impossible differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one unified whole a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn¹² and profit by..."

He disapproves of democracy as it connotes that "all are equal shares in the political administration". He says that India is a Hindu nation and that "our one supreme goal is to bring to life the all round glory and greatness of our Hindu Rashtra. According to him:-¹³

12. Subhadri Joshi, 'RSS : A Danger to Democracy', Secular Democracy, 1967, p. 3.

13. Ibid., p. 36.

"Those only are nationalist patriots, who with the aspiration to glorify the Hindu race and nation to their heart are prompted into activity and strive to achieve the goal. All others --- are traitors and enemies to the nation --- From this standpoint, - the non-Hindu people in Hindustan must adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no ideas but those of glorification of Hindu race and culture - In one word they must cease to be foreigners or may stay in the country wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment - not even citizens' rights".¹⁴

About the Muslims and the Christians, he says:-

"Together with the change in their faith gone are the spirit of love and devotion for the nation - they have also developed a feeling of identification with the enemies of this land. They all themselves Sheikhs and Syeds - what else is it, if not reason, to join the camp of the enemy, leaving their mother nation in the lurch."¹⁵

14. Bhupesh Gupta, 'Parliament' Speech', Secular Democracy, April, 1970, pl 17.

15. Subhadri Joshi, RSS: A Danger to Democracy, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

He is not satisfied with Hindu-Muslim unity. He further asks:-

"Why limit the oneness only there? Why not make it more wide and more comprehensive so as to fuse them all in the Hindu way of life, in our dharma and take them back as lost brothers".¹⁶

He says that from "Delhi to Rampur and Lucknow the Muslims are busy hatching a dangerous plot, piling arms and mobilizing their man and probably binding their time to strike from within when Pakistan decided upon an armed conflict with our country".¹⁷ He says that the Christians attack Hindu gods and goddesses in order to knock out the faith of the Hindu from his heart so that his nationalism might be destroyed and a void created in his mind, - "then it becomes easy to fill that void with Christianity". He suspects a conspiracy between the Christians and the Muslims to partition the country, the whole of the Gangetic Plain between the Punjab and Manipur going to the Muslims and the Peninsula and the Himalayas to the Christians".¹⁸

The R.S.S. believes in forced assimilation. It stands for "Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan". It has a monolithic

16. Ibid., p. 6.

17. Ibid., p. 10.

18. Ibid.

organization and para-military force composed of brain-washed persons trained in knife and dagger, drill, street-fighting and similar other activities. The R.S.S. teaches the Swayam Sevaks in its Sakhas that the Muslims destroyed temples, plundered Hindu Kingdoms, persecuted the Hindus, betrayed the national movement, aligned themselves with imperialists, displayed master-racism, and got the country partitioned. It exhorts them to avenge imaginary ancient¹⁹ ways. Girish Mathur, in his article published in Secular Democracy, says:-

"The publication of the speech of Sardar Patel, the first Deputy Prime Minister of India, and memoirs of Kaka Gadgil and K.M. Munshi, Ministers in the first Cabinet of Pt. Nehru, reveal that the R.S.S.²⁰ had planned to exterminate the Muslims from India".

The R.S.S. announces, "Secularism" as an euphemism for Muslim appeasement. Yet this organization was patronized by prominent Congress leaders. When after the assassination of Gandhiji, it was banned by the Government, the Congress Working Committee met at Sardar Patel's residence - Nehru was abroad at the time - and adopted a resolution opening

19. Mohammed Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, op. cit., p. 63.

20. Girish Mathur, 'Communal Violence: A Study in Political Perspective', Secular Democracy, Annual Number, 1969, p. 43.

21

the door of the Congress for the R.S.S. members. K.M.Munshi, in his 'Memoirs' says:-

" "It (R.S.S.) is organizing young Hindus into a well disciplined, dedicated group, who unashamed of being Hindus, could challenge, when necessary, the aggressiveness of the Muslims".

22

The Jana Sangh (now Bhartiya Janata Party after defection from the Janata Party) is but a political organ of the R.S.S. The R.S.S. has impregnated the Jana Sangh with its ideology and provided it with a support-base and leadership. And during elections, the R.S.S. throws its powerful organizational machinery at the disposal of the Jana Sangh. Balraj Madhok, a Jana Sangh leader, echoes the views of Golwalkar:-

24

"Secularism has been made the cover to concede the separatist demands of Muslims and other incompletely Indianized elements - A natural result of it is that

21. Ibid., p. 44.

22. K.M. Munshi, 'Pilgrimage to Freedom' Quoted by Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, op. cit., p. 69.

23. Myron Weiner, The Politics of Scarcity (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1961), p. 112.

24. Balraj Madhok, Indian Nationalism (Delhi: S. Chand and Company, 1969), pp. 88-90.

the national culture and interest of the national society - the Hindu society - are being neglected and the springs of pure age-old Indian nationalism are being sapped".

The A.S.S. and the Jana Sangh demand "Indianization" of the Muslims. In his 'Address' to the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Madhok explained the theory of 'Indianization':

"The Muslim's previous record since partition put the question of their loyalty open to doubt. Moreover, there was enough evidence to prove that a majority of the Muslims in India placed their edicts above national interests. And according to a strict interpretation of Islam, India is a land of war, which every Muslim is committed to turn into a land of Islam. Therefore, Islam must be Indianized and modernized, the Aligarh Muslim University de-Muslimized, and the Muslims Indianized". He threatened that "riots will continue to rule till Islam is Indianized". "More than the Muslims, Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and the Home Minister Y.B. Chavan, who alone opposed the Indianization of the Muslims, must be Indianized". He said, "Had Pandit Nehru and Emperor Ashoka been Indianized, our troubles would not have been there".

It is a matter of great regret that since Freedom, the national press not only ignored the problems and grievances of the Muslim community, but also prejudicially condemned them and a number of newspapers and periodicals started campaign against the just and rightful demands of the Muslims. The papers belonging to the Hindu militant organizations misled the people towards Muslim needs and they played a bad role in the riots-ignited days. They always challenged the loyalty of the Indian Muslims. Among the sarces of Muslim discontent, the major grievance, in addition to the status of Urdu, was the persistence of communal riots, particularly, in the cities and towns of North India, to such an extent that hardly a month passed without a communal outbreak of violence in one place or another and hardly a year passed without a serious riot, in which a large number of Muslims lost their lives and property.²⁶

²⁷ According to a report of the Union Home Ministry, there has been a deterioration in the communal situation since 1960 and that it sharply worsened from 1964. The report says :

" From 1954 to 1960 there was a clear and consistent downward trend in communal riots. The lowest number of

26. Paul Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India (Delhi: Vikas, 1975), p. 218.

27. See The Hindu (Madras), May 21, 1969, for the gist of the Home Minister's Report.

riots - below fifty - occurred in 1958, 1959 and 1960. In 1961, the situation was sharply reversed. A substantial fall during the next two years was followed by 1964, when largely as a repercussion of communal riots in former East Pakistan, there was large scale communal violence in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa²⁸".

In 1961, there were serious riots in North and Central India. In the first week of February, 1961, the most terrible dangerous, painful outbreaks were in Jabalpur and several parts of Madhya Pradesh, which trembled the whole Muslim community. The Jabalpur riots started according to Commissioner of Jabalpur press note:-

"Certain groups of students took out a procession as a protest against the incident of suicide by a college girl to have been molested by a bad character. They succeeded in persuading the citizens to close their shop and observe hartal. Local bad characters formed into crowds by mid-day and started acts of arson, looting and stone-pelting in different parts of the town²⁹".

But according to unofficial reports that the molested

28. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, op. cit., p. 63.

29. The Statesman (New Delhi), February 5, 1961.

girl student, Miss Usha Bhango, had love affairs with a young man of minority community and she wanted to marry him when the young man refused to do so, she allegedly committed³⁰ and sacrificed herself.

The riot spread in several parts of Madhya Pradesh, particularly Sagar, Nar Singhpur, Katni, Damoh etc., in which there was a great loss of life and property. The same pattern here too followed that a procession was taken by the students and there were anti-Muslim slogans, then started looting,³¹ burning, killings, etc.

These riots were of so serious nature that Dr. Katju, the then Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, said: "The whole³² Jabalpur was converted into a Shamshan Bhoom". And the correspondent of Times of India wrote (February 10, 1961):

"Angry mobs went crazy and if the police had not restored to force, Jabalpur would have been a shambles".

The Jabalpur riots were vehemently condemned and criticised by the various political parties, non-political parties, groups, public and the intellectuals. In the

30. The Aljamat, February 20, 1961.

31. The Statesman (New Delhi), February 12, 1961 and Aljamat, February 12, 1961.

32. Aljamat, February 12, 1961.

Parliament, it had been voiced to atrocities committed against the Muslim community; and the Opposition leaders as well as the members of the ruling party, strongly criticised the Government and demanded a judicial inquiry of these riots.³³ Generally, it was said that these riots were preplanned and well organized and started by the communal and anti-national forces.³⁴ Pt. Nehru addressing the Congress Parliamentary Party said:-

"The incidents, like the one at Jabalpur, did not and could not happen suddenly, seemed an organized effort behind it and anti-social elements had taken advantage of it to commit murder and arson".³⁵

He also criticised local newspapers for inciting the people with articles full of "wrong or grossly exaggerated facts. He felt local authorities had not been alert enough particularly when they knew that Jabalpur had had such trouble before."³⁶

Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, the then Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, said in the Vidhan Sabha that the Government

33. The Statesman (New Delhi), February 24, 1961.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., February 28, 1961.

36. Ibid.

deeply regretted the recent communal disturbances in the State, which he described as "highly shameful". He expressed sympathy for the riot-victims and said that the Government would do its best for their relief and rehabilitation.³⁷

Just after the Jabalpur riots, a riot broke out in Moradabad(U.P.), in which several persons were killed and injured, and property looted.³⁸ Charan Singh, the then Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh, told the Vidhan Sabha that the Jana Sangh had tried to exploit communal feelings in Moradabad after a money lender had been shot dead on March 17, 1961.³⁹

The said year in the month of October, a fresh wave of the communal riots started from Aligarh. A serious riot broke out in Aligarh on the rumour that a Hindu student of Alligarh Muslim University was killed in one of the University hostels.⁴⁰ When this news spread, the number of the majority community attacked the Muslims.⁴¹ According to authorities,⁴² ten persons were killed, a number of injured and a lot of property looted, burnt and destroyed.⁴³

37. Ibid., March 25, 1961.

38. Ibid., March 25, 1961.

39. Ibid., March 25, 1961.

40. Aljamlat, October 8, 1961.

41. Dawat, October 8, 1961.

42. All Muslims.

43. The Statesman (New Delhi), October 4, 1961.

The riot spread to a number of towns of Uttar Pradesh - Meerut, Barut, Hapur, Agra, Chandausi, Azamgarh and Gorakhpur, etc.⁴⁴ Following previous strategy processions were taken out, anti-Muslim slogans were raised, then attacked the Muslims and their property and killing, burning, looting started.⁴⁵ Only in Meerut in three days, according to the authorities, twelve persons were killed and 24 wounded.⁴⁶ The whole city was handed over to Army. Later, the number of killings raised to 15.⁴⁷

Speaking to reporters at his residence, Charan Singh, the then Home Minister of Uttar Pradesh, made a sordid assessment of the whole situation; the first of its kinds made by any prominent leader so far. Without mincing words, he said that in the current wave of communal frenzy in the State, one party had nearly all the time on the offensive. Charan Singh observed that nearly all the casualties in all the cities where the wave had spread had been one sided. The pattern of rioting in all the cities had been, more or less, the same. The Home Minister pointed out to begin with,

44. Ibid., October 7, 1961.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., October 8 and 9, 1961.

47. Ibid., October 10, 1961.

that a procession, consisting majority of school boys, was taken out and highly provocative slogans were used. This resulted in minor clashes and at places stoning the procession.⁴⁸ This was usually a signal for loot and arson for the supporting of the procession, then general rioting and, at places, stabbing and killings followed virtually of⁴⁹ communal hatred in the State.

The next series of the communal riots started in the beginning of 1964 in the eastern part of the country i.e., West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. These riots were the biggest after the freedom in which how many persons killed, burnt and looted, how much property damaged and destroyed, is very difficult to assess.

The constant fear that any happening in Pakistan will have its repercussion on Muslims in India, particularly when exaggerated reports appear in the Indian press, and peoples and parties inimical to Muslims are ready to seize the opportunity and magnify things, was there, and such a thing did come to pass by the end of the year 1963. On

48. Almost in all the riots, this strategy was followed and allegedly said that the Muslims stoned the procession, but this is not correct as most of the riots were preplanned and, no doubt, the processionists wanted to throw stones on the procession themselves so that they could do whatever then wanted.

49. The Statesman (New Delhi), October 9, 1961.

December 27, a serious riot and turmoil erupted in Kashmir over the theft of the relic hair of the Holy Prophet from Hazrat-Bal Mosque near Srinagar. Muslims of the State going there in thousands to pay their respects to the Holy Relic on important occasions, particularly, on the birthday of the Holy Prophet, were, naturally, agitated when the Relic was found missing. But the Hindu minority in East Bengal had obviously nothing to do with it. The communal riots in East Pakistan on this issue caused a good deal of panic and also resulted in migration of Hindus to India. On January 4, 1964, the Army took over law and order for maintenance of peace, and a curfew was imposed there. No doubt, the situation was soon brought under control, but by that time, according to an official statesman, 29 persons belonging to the minority community had been killed and hundreds rendered homeless.

The Indian Muslims in general, and leaders in particular, severely condemned and criticised this action of the Muslims of Pakistan. They demanded for full protection of the

50. Aljamat, December 26, 1964.

51. Mohammad Raza Khan, What Price Freedom (Madras: Mohammad Raza Khan, 1969), p. 503.

52. Ibid., see also, The Hindustan Times, January 5, 1964.

53. Aljamat, January 8, 1964.

54

minority community of Pakistan. A number of resolutions
 in this regard were passed and sent to the high offices of
 Pakistan. Undoubtedly, the Indian Muslims and their leaders
 felt it very strongly and took it very seriously.

55

56

It is regrettable that the press in Calcutta published
 a report of what had happened in the neighbouring State of
 Pakistan, followed by the influx of evacuees with all sorts
 of tragic stories; some of them, of course true and a great
 deal inflamed. The Jana Sangh and the R.S.S. exploited this
 opportunity skillfully, poised the majority community against
 the Muslims. As a consequence, serious riots broke out in
 a part of Calcutta and Muslims came in for indiscriminate
 attacks. Arson and looting followed. Many had to leave their
 homes and take refuge in all sorts of places. Law and order
 completely broke down.

57

However, the then Home Minister, Gulzarilal Nanda,
 promptly rushed to Calcutta, reprimanded the local police
 for their failure to take prompt action, and also found
 fault with the Government of West Bengal and ordered the
 military to move in. Nanda said, "To protect even a single

55. Ibid., January 10, 1964.

56. Ibid.

57. The Statesman (New Delhi), January 3, 1964.

58. Ibid.

59

Muslim all our forces will be utilized".

After calling into the Army, the situation was brought under control, but it left a trail of misery and complete helplessness on the part of Calcutta.

Franc Anthony, an Anglo-Indian leader and then a nominated member of the Lok Sabha, created a sensation in the House by his speech on what happened in Calcutta to Muslims. He said, "Every now and then Muslims are walking in the shadow of death"⁶⁰. The Jana Sangh member shouted, "Let us walk out", as a protest against Anthony's minorities in India, and before they could do so the House itself was⁶¹ adjourned.

Soon West Bengal and a great part of Northern India was enveloped in communal riots, which starting from Calcutta spread to Jamshedpur, an industrial centre in Bihar, Rourkela in Orissa, where a new steel mill is located, Ranchi, Raigarh⁶² and other places of Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Only in a week-riots, 200 people were killed. According a statement given by Gulzarilal Nanda, the then Home Minister of the Union Government, that on the basis of reports received for

59. Ibid.

60. Alismit, June 10, and 11, 1964.

61. The Statesman (New Delhi), February 28, 1964.

62. Ibid., February 10, 1964.

346 persons were killed and 458 injured during the disturbances in Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Raigarh. He estimated that property worth Rs. 4 lakhs were damaged at Rourkela and property worth Rs. 3 lakhs looted.⁶³

No doubt that those riots were well-planned and the anti-Muslim organizations played leading role inflaming emotion of the majority community against the Muslims. Since the Freedom, these forces did not miss any chance to crush the Muslims. They always tried to spread anti-Muslim feeling among the Hindus. Here, it is not our subject to x-ray these forces but a few instances are enough to prove that how these militant organizations took part in the riots and disturbed the situation badly.

In Rourkela, R.S.S. volunteers were active even before the riot. The Jana Sangh had set up a loudspeaker at the Railway Station and for days together inflammatory stories were broadcast to the crowds that came to the Station. When a philanthropic Muslim took foodstuff to the Station for the refugees from East Pakistan, a rumour was spread that he had poisoned the food. This was enough to spark off a riot. In Meerut the R.S.S. held its camps for a week. Golwalkar visited Meerut during the R.S.S. camp and also a few days before the riot. Bhaui Saheb Deoras, the R.S.S. Pracharak for

63. The Statesman (New Delhi), April 9, 1964 (Lok Sabha Question).

64. D.R. Goyal, 'Communalism', Seminar, 1969, pp. 26-27, and Chatterjee Singh and Suhas Rai, Riots in Rourkela (Varanasi: Gandhian Institute of Studies, 1967), p. 32.

for Eastern India, made Meerut his headquarters for almost two months. Golwalkar visited the R.S.S. Meerut camp and delivered inflammatory speech, and the R.S.S. leaders talked of teaching a lesson to Muslims. In this atmosphere the visit of Sheikh Abdullah, the Kashmiri leader, was exploited⁶⁵ to stage a riot. In Pupri Bazar, the Jana Sangh spread a rumour that the Muslims had collected arms to attack the Dussehra procession, brought Hindus from neighbouring villages to join the procession, organised a procession of uniformed R.S.S. volunteers through Pupri Bazar and took the Dussehra procession not along the specified route, but through Muslim localities, looting and plundering their shops and houses.⁶⁶ In Agra, following a quarrel between two shoe-merchants, Murari and Shahabuddin, a mob of three hundred persons led by the city Jana Sangh President attacked Shahabuddin in his shop and injured his two brothers also. The mob destroyed some of the shops of the Muslims in the shoe market, damaged a mosque and a madarsa and tore a few copies of the holy Quran.⁶⁷

In all the riots, the same strategy had been adopted that Muslim's shops and property looted and burnt, but, if a shop or property belonging to Hindu comes in between, it was saved by the rioters.

65. Editorial, 'Carnage in Meerut', Secular Democracy, March, 1968, p. 10.

66. Editorial, 'Some Recent Occurrences', Secular Democracy, Annual Number, 1969, p. 53.

67. Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

None of these riots erupted spontaneously. There is enough evidence to show that they were preplanned and well-organised in which, on the large scale, arms and ammunitions were used, and the trained persons actively took part in them. In Rourkela (1964) and Jabalpur (1961), houses of the Muslims were marked. In fact, on one house, it was written, "This house, which once belonged to a Muslim is now owned by Hindu". This allegation is baseless that most of the processions were stoned by the Muslims. But the truth is that the organisers of the processions themselves stoned the processions.

This shows how the riots were started and turned towards the Muslims, in which Muslims suffered very much. According to Abdul Jalil Faridi, in every riot it is only the Muslims, who suffer. The Muslim misdemeanours, individually or collectively, are never the cause for riots; that Hindu communal parties, organisations and individuals purposefully and willfully organise such riots with the intent of harassing and killing Muslims, that the police and army not only stand aside, while Muslims are killed, but sometimes participate themselves in attacks on Muslims; that the senior administrative officers in the districts

68. The Statesman, April 20, 1964.

69. See Aljumi'at, February 11, 1961, for the reality of the charge (An evidence was produced before the Judicial Magistrate of Saharanpur).

where break out ignore the actions of police because they are themselves often 'communal minded'; and that the Government itself is directly responsible, because it never takes action against the erring officials and the rioters are never brought to book.⁷⁰

To conclude, the causes of the riots are deep rooted in the aims and objects, concept and attitude of the R.S.S. towards the Muslims. Their concept - Bharat is Hindu and Hindus are Bharat; non-Hindus are aliens; Hindus alone constitute the Indian nation and this nation cannot grow in strength without making the non-Hindus join the mainstream of Hindu culture and Hindu way of life, (as conceived) and non-Hindus should be pressurized in all possible ways, including the use of violence to identify themselves with this mainstream - is very dangerous for peace and threatening to the existence of Muslims in India.

70. Abdul Jalil Faridi, 'Communalism: Its Causes and Cure', Radiance, October 13, November 20, 1964 and December 4 and 18, 1966.

CHAPTER III

GENESIS AND ROLE OF THE MUSLIM MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT

Among the other sources of Muslim discontent, are particularly, in the northern India, the major grievance, in addition to the status of Urdu, Muslim Personal Law, text-books, the restoration of the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University, and the one, which most clearly affects the Muslim urban masses, is the persistence of communal riots in the cities and towns, in which a large number of Muslims lose their lives and property.¹

The leaders of the Muslim community were worried in thinking that the sequence of riots were to banish the Muslims from India and the para-military organizations working behind them, which do not want to see Muslims any longer in India/^{and assert} either they should merge in Hindu culture and religion or should leave this country. The second aspect of the communal riots was that they aim the Muslims should not be fully established - economically, socially and educationally. It is easy to see that most of the riots occurred in those places where Muslims were in a good economic position and employment. In the riots, the Muslims were not only slaughtered in cold blood, but also their property was badly damaged, looted and burnt.²

1. See Chapter II.

2. Ibid.

The Muslims, who decided to remain in India after the partition of the country, had, in fact, burnt their boats and resolved to share the weals and woes of this country: to which they have contributed a lot from ethical and social points of view and in many other ways. Since the Indian Constitution guaranteed to them equal status and equal opportunities along with the majority community, they linked their fate with the rest of the people with full confidence of assured future. They never looked to any Muslim country, particularly, Pakistan for any help or intervention in their affairs. In short, they became³ full citizen of India in the widest sense of the term.

Soon after they began to familiarise themselves with the changed conditions and make plans for peaceful living with all the people of the country. But, they had to face a series of communal riots in various parts of India and each succeeding disturbance was greater in severity than its predecessor. How many Muslims lost their lives in the riots and how much material lost and dislocation of life they suffered in all these unhappy incidents is now a common knowledge and we need not enter here into⁴ details.

3. See Chapter I.

4. Radiance (Delhi), February 16, 1964.

The holocaust of West Bengal and eastern parts of India were of very serious nature (after the communal outbreak at Jabalpur in 1961), in which thousands and thousands of Muslims were slaughtered. Besides the loss of life, thousands and thousands of poor people have lost all they possessed and were rendered homeless and helpless.⁵

The most disturbing aspect of the latest riots was that voices were being raised for exchange of population from certain circles of the majority community and in their popular organ, demands were also made that Muslims, who wanted to live in India, should give up their culture and assimilate in Hindu culture.⁶

After these serious riots, there were voices that Muslim leaders and various Muslim organizations should come together on one platform, giving up their differences, to save the Muslims as well as for their better position in the country. It was the need of the hour that a common platform should be provided to the Muslims for unity. Urging the unity among the Muslims at that juncture, The Radiance Views Weekly wrote in one of its issues:-

"It is, therefore, time now to think of our present and future in this country and we hope that

5. See Chapter II.

6. Dawat, March 10, 1964.

our leaders and elders will sit and put their heads together to think out and devise means of preventing and finding out - can we improve our relation with the majority community and live with peace and honour. This is the problem, which we have to tackle and with the least possible delay".⁷

Commenting on the speech of Maulana Asad Madni, the then President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, the daily Dawat says:-

"One lesson, which the destruction and losses in Calcutta gives us, is that Muslims should give up befooling and ridiculing one another and learn to live as brothers and sympathisers".⁸

Stressing the unity among the Muslims, the Radiance says:-

"This clarion call of the Quran to the peoples of the world, fourteen hundred years ago, enshrines even now the core of religion, which ought to be the basis of an ideal society...".

The holy Quran says:-

"Come! Let us write on something which is common to you and to us both: that we shall worship

7. Radiance, February 16, 1964.

8. Ibid., March 8, 1964.

none, but God, and associate none with Him (in His Godhead); and none of us shall raise others to the position of minor gods beside Allah! "

"Let the thinking minds of all the different groups and parties of the Indian Muslims come together and declare their missionary zeal for the ideals of one God and one human brotherhood, as well as their readiness to cooperate with all those Hindus or Sikhs or others, who unequivocally subscribe to this core of religion. But for this, the conscience of the entire Ummat-e-Muslima will have to be roused. Groups and parties may continue with their respective programmes and leaderships. What is needed now is a consensus of all these leaderships, a non-denominational 'Shura' of the whole Ummat, which should be based on a "minimum programme"; and which should be able to speak on behalf of all the⁹ parties and groups and sects of the Muslims of India".

Among the various sections of the Muslims, need of the unity stressed and a common platform for the Muslims of India was urged. It was thought that serious effort in this direction should be made and for this purpose a meeting of the leaders of the various parties should be¹⁰ called. This idea was more developed and came in a concrete shape by the serious efforts of the Muslim parties,

9. Ibid., April 5, 1964.

10. Nida-e-Millat (Lucknow), March 13, 1964.

particularly the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, as the Jamaat since the very beginning wanted to unite the Muslims on one platform.

After visiting from Calcutta, Dr. Syed Mahmud, M.P., a senior Congressman, gave an interview to the daily Dawat in which he severely criticised the idea of the migration of Muslims from the country. He said that those who studied the history of Islam could not be satisfied with the¹¹ suggestion of migration.

Commenting on the proposed meeting of the Muslim leaders, he said:-

"I have said it before and again saying it that Muslims in India should mould themselves into a form of dynamic community. Complaining every time before Hindus and the Government should not become our habit. We have made enough complaints. But the world does not help those who only makes complaints; it is rather honours activity and dynamism. The conditions prevailing these days have created in Muslims a sense of hopelessness and awe and I am afraid that due to these reasons they may not start thinking them-¹²selves as utterly helpless and enslaved".

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

He further said:-

"Muslims should understand it that constitutionally they are equal participants in the Government even though there may become pitfalls in the practice. They should not injure their self-respect; rather they should stick to principles. Along with the rights, there are also certain responsibilities of which Muslims cannot be absolved".¹³

Dr. Syed Mahmud stressed unity and cooperation among the various Muslim organizations and for a common platform.¹⁴

Dr. Asif Qidwai of Nida-e-Millat urged unity among the Muslim organizations at this critical time and wrote:-¹⁵

"The Calcutta riots have again reminded the Muslims the fact that they are standing at cross-roads. If they could not hear the call of time and could not cultivate in themselves the potentialities and powers, which nations need in such moments, then they should be sure that they have no future in this country. The courage and large heartedness with which they have helped the victims of Calcutta (riots) is indeed very encouraging ... Coming to relief and rescue of one's

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

unfortunate or others at the time of distress, is no doubt a commendable and praiseworthy act. But this cannot be enough if they want to live like an (independent) nation ... At this moment, the need of unity and organisation among Muslims is being very intensely felt and some respectable persons of community who enjoy the confidence of people are thinking about taking constructive steps towards fulfilling this need".

Describing the background of this need, the same paper writes:-

"This need was first felt in Calcutta where some sincere persons, who were doing relief work, realised that if the works of different organisations engaged in the relief work are combined and coordinated, then the greater benefit can be provided to the victims. This realisation leads them to personally work for the coordination and cooperation among organisations. Apart from the small success they achieved in this endeavour at local level, a good result of it, was also that they came to think of cooperation among Muslims at national level at large. After returning from Calcutta, they started making negotiations with different leaders of Muslims to put their thought into action. We know that thanks to these negotiations,

an atmosphere has been created in which we can move
¹⁶
 forward".

After the tour of the riot affected areas of Orissa, Bengal and Bihar, Maulana Abul Lais Islahi, the then President of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind gave a detailed interview to the Radiance, in which he told what he saw during his tour and said that the statement made by Jayaprakash Narayan has, no doubt, unveiled the face of terrible realities, but this, too, was not enough to pose the atrocities and violence perpetrated on the Muslim
¹⁷
 minority in these places.

Referring to the report of M.M. Chaudhry, the Sarvodaya Leader, the Maulana said:-

"The loss of lives at Sundergarh can roughly be estimated at about 3,000 and this can even be higher. In Jamshedpur and Singhbhum areas the toll
¹⁸
 rises still higher".

Urging the unity and coordination in the Muslims, the Maulana said:-

"In respect of fulfilling this need, the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind is not unconscious of the discharge of

16. Ibid.

17. Radiance, May 19, 1964.

18. Ibid., May 10, 1964.

its duties and responsibilities, and a major part, of whatever it has been doing, is devoted to meet this end. The Jamaat has been, for long, inviting the attention of others to it and it is also prepared to cooperate with others for realization of this long cherished dream. And now the time/^{has} actually arrived when all well-wishers of the Muslim community should¹⁹ focus their attention on it".

Maulana Manzoor Nomani, one of the Muslim dignatories and editor of the monthly Al-Furqan (Lucknow), wrote about this urgent need:-

"Now a new era has began after Nehru and it is necessary that Muslim leaders and elite, should meet on the first opportunity and despite their ideological differences, think over this fundamental question of the campaign for cleaning out Muslims from India which anti-Muslim forces are carrying out secretly and openly and whose programmes include all that has happened in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa during January and March and the attitude of the Government (not as professed but as in practice) and give guidance to the community in²⁰ the light of the experience of the past seventeen years".

19. Ibid.

20. Maulana Manzoor Nomani, Al-Furqan (Lucknow). Quoted by Radiance, May 10, 1964.

About the consultative meeting of the Muslim leaders, he said:-

"We know that talks for such a consultative meeting has been going for the last two or three months and we have in our minds also the leaders on account of whom it has been delayed so far".

"It seems necessary that the difficulties, problems and demands of the Muslims are honestly and frankly put up before the new Government with the least delay. And the Community should also be told what should it do for securing a position of honourable living and how to deal with the events as they come. My request is that such a meeting must be held in July. There is²¹ no room for further delay".

Presiding over the Provincial Dini Talimi Conference held at Allahabad on the 20th and 21st June, 1964, Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, Rector, Darul Uloom Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow, dwelt, at length, on the need of religious education for preserving the cultural heritage of our ancestors and²² passing it on to our next generation". Concluding his Presidential address, the Maulana said:-

"Today Indian Muslims stand on a critical trauma - educationally, politically and constitutionally. There

21. Radiance, May 10, 1964.

22. Ibid., July 5, 1964.

are two roads open - one of humiliation, slavery, national decline and intellectual and cultural downfall, and, the other, of honour, grace, national evolution and intellectual and cultural uplift. Only two things are necessary for the later path -
²³
 determination and sacrifice".

He again said:-

"It is unfortunate at this critical stage of history that Muslims have not proved their awareness
²⁴
 of the danger and their concern about the future".

After serious and thoughtful consultations among Muslim leaders, belonging to different parties and school of thoughts, it had been finally decided that a consultative meeting of the Muslim leaders, representing different parties would be held on August 8 and 9, 1964, in the
²⁵
 historic city of Lucknow.

This decision was taken in New Delhi at the residence of Dr. Syed Mahmud at a representative gathering of Muslim leaders on July 7 and 8, 1964. Invitation ranging between sixty and seventy were issued to prominent
²⁶
 persons all over India. It was also decided that the

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid., July 12, 1964.

26. Ibid.

meeting would be placed at Darul Uloom Nadwat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, as the Convenor of the meeting, said that the Indian Muslims faced with unprecedented conditions and that they were getting further and further from the country's political and social current of life. This could only be overcome by untiring efforts on their part and reliance on God, and not by lamentation and complaints. The Indian Muslims had to change the course of events by
27
courage, determination and understanding.

Dr. Syed Mahmud said: "However difficult the conditions
28
be, we should not be pessimistic".

Expressing its great happiness on the proposed meet at Lucknow, the Radiance wrote: "Radiance is glad to note this news as it has all along been persistently pleading
29
for such a meet".

The Urdu Times of Bombay in one of its issues said:-

"A conference of leaders and thinking people of Muslim should, in fact, have been held at the time when the wave of communalism started in India and widespread bloodshed took place as a reaction to happenings in East Pakistan".³⁰

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Urdu Times (Bombay), July 10, 1964.

When the Radiance approached Maulana Abul Lais Islahi, the then President of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, regarding the proposed consultative meeting, the Maulana said:-

"I have been intensely feeling the need of a representative Muslim gathering and have been loving what I could to give a practical shape to this idea. I am, therefore, very glad to this idea that a meeting of this nature, even though on restricted scale, is taking shape and I welcome it".³¹

Appreciating and praying for the proposed gathering of the Muslim leaders, intellectuals and religious dignitaries at Lucknow, the Nida-e-Millat of Lucknow wrote:-

"It is hoped that leaders and representatives of Muslims from all over India will participate in the Convention which is to be held in Lucknow on 8th and 9th August, 1964. All those are expected to come who feel for the community and who feel the need of mutual cooperation and coordination, particularly, at this delicate moment and who in principle agree with this kind of Convention. The proceedings and decisions of the Convention will be presented before everyone. May Allah show all the Muslim leaders participating in this Convention - the path, which to Him is the right path, beneficial for the community".³²

31. Radiance, July 19, 1964.

32. Nida-e-Millat, July 17, 1964.

The Azad Hind also wrote:-

"After these fresh incidents, it has become all the more necessary that the proposed Muslim Convention take place without any further delay. Because the aggressive communalism, through its new attack has demonstrated it that the question with Muslims is not only that of the protection of their rights and interests; it has rather become a matter of life and death for them. It is strange that despite having seen a dangerous spate of hostility against minorities in a large part of Eastern India, the Muslim leadership continued to suffer from unknown suspense and suspicion and did not hold this Convention. In the meantime, a major event occurred that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru died and, that Lal Bahadur Shastri took the office. This event has made the holding of the meeting of Muslim representatives all the more necessary so that (through it) new government may be made having awareness of the sentiments and emotions, difficulties and complaints³³ and problems of this biggest minority of the country".

The proposed Muslim leaders consultative meeting was highly welcomed by the prominent Muslims, general Muslim Public newspapers, etc. and the broad minded people of the majority community. All prayed to God for its success. But

33. Azad Hind (Calcutta), July 5, 1964.

as per their tradition, the communal minded people and the organization of the majority community and a section of the Muslims vehemently criticised and opposed the proposed meeting. They charged that the proposed meeting was anti-national and communal. ³⁴ A particular section of the Muslims charged the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (a constituent of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mashawarat) that the Jamaat had not yet accepted the Constitution of India and the secularism etc. By raising these issues, they tried to damage the picture of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind before the Government and the people ³⁵ and tried to undo the proposed meeting.

On the above issues, which raised at a critical time, Dr. Syed Mahmud wrote three letters to the President of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. The President of the Jamaat cordially responded. The correspondence is as follows:-

36

Letter from Dr. Syed Mahmud to the Editor, Radiance

20, Tughlaq Crescent,
New Delhi

To,

16th July, 1964

The Editor,
Radiance Views Weekly,
Delhi

Dear Sir,

Herewith I send you two questions and their answers

34. Dawat (Delhi), July 15, 1964, Pratap (Delhi), July 14, 1964.

35. Dawat, July 16, 1964.

36. Radiance, July 23, 1964.

put by me to the Head of Jamaat-e-Islami of India. It is widely believed that this body is opposed to our Constitution as well as to secularism. I was also prey to this understanding. Now Maulana Abul Lais clears up those points.

This is an important news item in as much as a well organized and popular Muslim body was hitherto misunderstood.

Yours faithfully,
Sd./-

(Dr.) Syed Mahmud

Letter from Dr. Syed Mahmud to Maulana Abul Lais Islahi ³⁷

20, Tughlaq Crescent,
New Delhi

Dear Maulana Saheb,

I venture to put two questions and I hope you will answer them in clear words. It would be better if you publish them in paper.

Q.1. Do you and the Jamaat-e-Islami recognize the
Constitution of India?

As you know, our Constitution has given equal rights to all the citizens and communities of India and so far as the Constitution is concerned, no discrimination has been shown against anyone. If compared with the best Constitutions

37. Ibid.

of any other countries, Indian Constitution will not lag behind.

Q.2. Are you and the Jamaat-e-Islami opposed the secularism?

Indian secularism does not mean atheism but it clearly means that State has no religion.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./-

Dated 13-7-1964

(Syed Mahmud)

Janab Maulana Abul Lais Sahib,
Ameer-e-Jamaat-e-Islami Hind,
Delhi

38

Letter from Maulana Abul Lais, President, Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, Delhi, to Dr. Syed Mahmud, M.P., New Delhi

Delhi

the 16th July, 1964

Dear Doctor Saheb,

As-Salam-o-Alaikum

The questions you have raised in your letter dated 13-7-1964 have been repeatedly answered in clear terms, through our literature, newspapers and journals; and everyone can easily learn of our stand concerning these issues. I, therefore, do not propose to bring out my answers in papers, but if you, for any reason, feel such need, I would have no objection to their publication.

1) The brief answer to question No. 1 can only be that the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind and I abide by the Constitution of India and appreciate the merits thereof referred to by you. I have, time and again, publicly acknowledged them in my speeches. In comparison with the Constitution of many countries, I have placed the Indian Constitution on a higher level. If it is demanded that we should regard it to be perfect and free from all defects and shortcomings, we are certainly far from seeing it that light. Such an attitude towards the Constitution is, in fact, contrary to its very spirit. Loyalty to the Constitution means the readiness to abide by it and to act according to the law based on it, and we are cent per cent loyal in this sense. This, however, does not mean that the Constitution is unalterable. The Constitution makers themselves do not held such a view. Past experience shows that 17 or 18 amendments have so far been made. This proves that the Indian Constitution is also alterable. I can claim with the fullest confidence that neither a single line from our literature nor a single instance from our history can be cited to substantiate us disloyal both the State or the Constitution.

2) We are not opposed to the idea of secularism in the sense you have interpreted it, but if it means atheism, we do oppose it.

Dr. S. Mahmud,
20, Tughlaq Crescent,
New Delhi
Dated 16 July, 1964.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./-
(Abul Lais)

Pointing some major issues, the Radiance suggested to the proposed meeting:-

"The consultative meeting of Muslim leaders, which will be held at Lucknow next week-end, must go beyond consultation. It should concrete a coordination, cooperation and consolidation. As leaders of different shades of opinion are meeting, this opportunity must not be missed. They should take stock of the situation in the country, grasp the crises of the mind through which Muslim masses in India are passing and devise ways and means to rescue them from further drift towards dejection and demoralisation".

It again writes:-

"Muslim leaders are meeting at Lucknow at a critical time and they are bound to grapple with all the serious problems confronting the community and the country. The need of the hour is unity and clarion call must be for action. Let the past bury its dead; but the Muslim leaders must act in the present and built up the future".

With great expectations and hopes, with full confidence and determination, the proposed meeting of Muslim leaders

held on 8th and 9th August, 1964 at Lucknow in the campus of the great seminary of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema. The invitations were issued by Dr. Syed Mahmud in a limited number, which included representatives of every segment of the Muslim⁴⁰ opinion. It was a consultative meeting and the number of the participants was limited but, inspite of this, there was so great enthusiasm and zeal in the Muslims all over the country that a number of uninvited persons, far from the country, had attended the meeting. The Nadwa's campus was producing a grandeur and jubilliance and according to Nida-e-Millat after freedom such a huge gathering, belonging to every walk of life of the Muslims, had never been seen⁴¹ except the religious meetings.

Nearabout seventy-five Muslim dignatories participated in the meeting. Some prominent were:-

Maulana Syed Fakhruddin, President, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Mufti Atiqur Rehman, Working President of the Jamiat, Maulana Abul Lais, President of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, Maulana Asad Madni, Secretary, General, Jamiat, Maulana Mohammad Yousuf, Secretary-General, Jamaat-e-Islami, Qari Mohammad Tayyub, Rector, Darul Uloom, Deoband, Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Rector, Nadwat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow, Maulana Manzoor Nomani, Lucknow, Maulana Hashim Mian,

40. Nida-e-Millat, August 14, 1964.

41. Ibid.

Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, Mohammad Ismail, President, Indian National Muslim League, A.K. Samad, President, Kerala Muslim League, Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, M.P.(Madras), S.M. Anwar, M.P. (Madras), Yaseen Moorie (Bombay), Zahid Shaukat Ali (Bombay), Mustafa Fakhai (Bombay), Mullah Jan Mohammad (Calcutta), Jahangir Kabir, M.L.A.(Calcutta), Usman (Assam), Maulana Ahmed Ali (Assam), Maulana Syed Minnat Ullah Rehmani, Ameer-e-Shariat Bihar and Orissa (Bihar), Maulana Mohammad Ismail Katki (Bihar), Mazhar Imam (Bihar), Younus Salim (Hyderabad), Khalil Ullah Hussaini, President, Tameer-e-Millat (Hyderabad), Mohabbul Haque (Barar), Ghulam Mohammad Qureshi Sabarmati (Ahmedabad), Maulana Mustafa Burhan-ul-Haque (Jabalpur), Maulana Mohammad Ismail (Orissa), Mohammad Ismail Shariq (Mysore), Begum Anisa Kidwai, M.P., Syed Kalbe-Abbas, General-Secretary, All India Shia Conference, Dr. Abdul Jalil Faridi, M.L.C., Lucknow, Sheikh Mustansarullah (Allahabad), the President, U.P. Islami League and Mohammad Muslim, Editor, 'Dawat', Delhi.

Maulana Mustafa Burhanul Haque, President, Jamaat Raza-e-Mustafa (Bareilly) had not participated due to his illness and sent his Secretary with a letter agreeing with the aims and objects of the meeting and promising his cooperation. A number of respectable Muslims and Muslim

42

42. Ibid. Also see Radiance, August 12, 1964.

organizations, who could not attend the Conference, sent⁴³ their suggestions.

The proceeding of the meeting started in the New Hall of the Nadwat-ul-Ulema on August 8, 1964 at 9.00 A.M. by reciting the Holy Quran.

First, the Welcome Address of Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi was read. The Maulana said in his Address:-

"Leaders of Millat and respected friends:

First of all, I bow my head in gratitude to the Almighty that He, in his infinite Mercy, granted us the good fortune to get together at this critical hour in order to ponder collectively over the fundamental needs and problems of the great Indian Muslim community, to seek unitedly how best these needs and problems can be solved and to make the beginning of our joint endeavour towards their solution. I say once again that it is only by the grace of the Lord that the calling up of this Convention has been possible. More urgency of the situation was not enough, the seriousness of the problems that confront us, the question of life and death, that is starring the Millat in the face today can alone not be said to have made this auspicious step inevitable.

43. Nida-e-Millat, August 14, 1964.

Gentlemen: there live five crores of Muslims in India.⁴⁴
 The secular Constitution of the country was conferred on them equality of citizenship and guaranteed to them all those rights and privileges that are enjoyed by the free and respectable citizens in a free and democratic Republic. Their decision to live in India and to make their home has legally, morally, politically and constitutionally entitled them to all the rights, benefits and liberties, which can be claimed by any other citizens of the country.

After the Muslim countries of Indonesia and Pakistan,⁴⁵ India has the largest number of Muslims living within it."

About greater role of the Indian Muslims in the Indian National movement and the contribution in Indian life, he said:-

"Apart from their numerical strength, the Indian Muslims occupy a place of distinction in the Islamic world by virtue of their various intellectual and moral qualities and in some respects they are superior to all other Muslim communities living in it. They are capable of lending help and guidance to free and independent Muslim countries in many fields of intellectual and literary endeavours. In India, too, they are distinguished as compared to the

44. The representatives of the Government of India have no certain international occasions given out the figure as 6 crores.

45. Welcome Address, August 8, 1964, pp. 1-4.

majority or any other community so far as their diverse Islamic, practical, administrative and intellectual capabilities are concerned".

"They initiated the struggle for national freedom and took a leading part in it and their sacrifices, on the whole, in the course of it, were greater than those of any other community, if one judged them in proportion to their numerical positions".
46

Describing the condition of the Indian Muslim during the last seventeen years, the Maulana said:-

"Further, it is having a highly undesirable effect on a powerful minority, which is 50 to 60 million strong and which, on the one hand, is full of human potentialities, and, on the other, in possession of ties of faith and blood with our closest and most important neighbour, Pakistan, and thus, can play a decisive role in the shaping of our relations with her. Because of the persistent outbreaks, communal madness of insane killings, loot and arson, and because of the feeling of linguistic and cultural insecurity, that has got created within it, this largest minority of the country is sinking fast into the abyss of despondency and frustration. Day by day, it is getting disillusioned baffled, and dejected, and losing faith in its future. Its energies are going to waste".

"The most legitimate demand of Muslims for the recognition of Urdu as a regional language and for the genuine secularisation of education and expulsion from it of all features that represent the aggressive revivalism of the majority community has not yet been openly and unreservedly conceded. A community of 5 to 6 crores can be a most valuable asset to any country. It can change its destiny and wield a decisive influence on world affairs.⁴⁷ But here the Muslims are being left to rot".

Since the freedom of the country, there is a lack of leadership in Muslim community, no solid, dynamic and forceful leadership has yet been evolved. This lack of leadership created a number of problems on the one hand, and a great confusion among the Muslims on the other hand. Pointing out this, the Maulana said:-

"Lack of proper leadership among the Muslims since 1947, their inner confusion and disunity and the feeling of inferiority, they have sadly acquired during these years, did not point them to prepare and present their case unitedly before the bar of public opinion and the government. Worse still, due to our certain moral weaknesses, and some selfishness and opportunism of some elements within us, we quite often gave the false impression that all was well

47. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

with us in the country and no injustice or discrimination⁴⁸ was being practised against us".

About the Muslim grievances, the Maulana voiced:-

"We, firmly and clearly, declare that in many respects, the Muslims in India are discontented. They have many just and legitimate grievances,, and they are passing through a most critical period of their history. But we have to lost faith neither in the mercy of God, nor in our own strength and ability to live, nor in the destiny of India, nor in the future of democracy, nor in the spirit of our Constitution. We resolved to live here and nowhere else, and to tell you the honest truth, when I speak these words before you, my own conscience pricks me".

He advised the Muslims that they should plead their case wisely and courageously before the Government and the majority community and should formulate their demands⁴⁹ precisely and in a clear-cut manner. He also suggested that they should restore courage and confidence among them and should revive spirit of peace, cooperation and⁵⁰ humanitarianism which Islam has blessed them with.

He concluded his Address praying for the success

48. Ibid., p. 10.

49. Ibid., p. 11.

50. Ibid.

of the Convention:

"Gentlemen, as I have said earlier this Convention is being held at the most appropriate time and it could not be delayed by a day. Fortunately, to preside over it, we have Dr. S. Mahmud, whose sincerity, experience and maturity of judgement is acknowledged on all hands. We have full confidence in his integrity, wisdom and devotion to the cause that is dear to our hearts. May the Almighty bless the Convention with success, the expectations the Millat has come to entertain in respect of it may, by His Divine Grace, be fulfilled and it is given to us to arrive at correct decisions and to take the right steps in the right direction for launching our common endeavour for common aims".⁵¹

After the welcome Address, Dr. Syed Mahmud, the veteran Congressman and the President of the Convention delivered his Presidential Address. In his Address, he took an account of the problems of the Muslims, the unhappy events of recent time and the behaviour of the majority community. He advised the Muslims that they should not lose hope and with courage and zeal; they should go ahead. He expressed his great happiness over this meeting that inspite of many ideological differences, Muslims of all shades of opinion were participating the meeting and thanked the Almighty.

He said:-

"Praise to God Almighty, who gave a practical shape to our long cherished dream of being together, that there are, at this meeting, people belonging to different shades of opinion - Jamiat-ul-Ulema and Jamaat-e-Islami, Muttaheda Mahaz and Dini Talimi Council, Congress and League, Deobandis and Barelvīs, Hanafi and Ahl-e-Hadith and Sunni and Shia. May God keep this meet immune from the evil machination of others. And 'congratulation' to each other on finding out an opportunity to materialise that chaste desire, which had been lying inherent for long in the heart of everyone of us, to think over the problems that threaten us right in the face and to take a unanimous decision. Time has always been throwing challenges to and demanding the proof of life from a living community".

"We meet here with a determination, not only to accept these challenges, but to devise means to oblige the country,
52
the society and the humanity at large".

Recalling the communal disturbances, occurred recently,
Dr. Syed Mahmud said:-

"Not only this but also on cultural, political and economic planes, you are subjected to manifold injustices and prejudices. But, I, instead of repeating these things,

would insist upon you to concentrate all your attention on thinking out a remedy for them. We have so far been adopting the strategy of shedding tears on, lamenting for and complaining against such unfortunate occurrences, and accusing the Government or a particular group of our brother-citizens, but you will have to acknowledge that we have⁵³ not yet achieved any specific success in this regard".

Dr. Mahmud told the Muslims about their correct position and said that they had been sent in the world for a specific purpose, and they had to work for this country. He said:-

"If you look around, you will realise that the problems of colour and caste, creed and race, which have been landing the people of this country in great troubles for hundreds of years, are still unsolved. Our brother-citizen, in the recent past also, have failed to put an end to these bickerings and to provide our social setup with an atmosphere of integration and unity ... I would tell you most plainly that even after sent by the God in this world for a great task".

He added:-

"God has destined you as Khair-e-Ummat. It is not only a sacred title which could be used for the sake of self-glorification; it implies a burden of responsibilities

53. Ibid., p. 3.

and duties cast on your shoulders. I think, whenever, we have become oblivious of this position of ours, we were soon hemmed-in on all sides by gloom and dismay. I would, therefore, request you to keep this in view and endeavour to march onward with renewed vigour and determination - determination and firmness higher than the Qutub Minar, stronger and more solid than the Red Fort, more beautiful, more majestic and pure than the Taj Mahal and vaster than the country itself".⁵⁴

He again said:-

"The task to which I have referred would refresh our mind to the fragrant memory of the Muslims of the earliest times, and through it, we would be able to make a correct representation of Islam and the Quran to our countrymen and tell them how the Quran has elevated humanity with the man as its subject matter".⁵⁵

Dr. Mahmud appealed the Muslims, that inspite of recent unhappy events, they should not be emotional and aggressive. Although their heart is wounded, but they should not let the hopes.

He says:-

"Your heart is, no doubt, wounded but it is the time

54. Ibid., p. 4.

55. Ibid.

when one, who is devoted to God, is put to rest with a conviction that he, inspite of hatred and hostility, would stick fast to the principle of love. In the face of the recent unhappy events, you acted with poise and equanimity. If there had been some other section of the people than the Muslims, God knows better, with what intensity they would have reacted. But the Muslims acted with patience and perseverance and avoided to take law in their hands".⁵⁶

Dr. S. Mahmud put many suggestions for the consideration of the meeting; some are as follows:-

1. Muslims are the fresh and smiling flowers of the garden of this country and the trimming of this garden would be incomplete without them. So, we will have to dismiss the idea that we are unwanted and likewise we will have to persuade others to come closer to the Muslims.
2. The pressing need of the hour is to create an atmosphere of unity among the Muslims. This is a basic need without which neither the individuals nor the society could prosper. You have to decide at this meeting that you could explain as much possibilities of unity and integration as you could. We are brothers in religion. We believe in one God

56. Ibid.

in one Prophet and regard the holy Quran as the fountain spring of all righteousness and virtues. This unity of faith calls for a closer tie. If you find out the ways to the unity, it would be an historical achievement. But if you fail, you will stand convicted in history. So far as the feelings and sentiments of the Muslims are concerned, I think they would never forgive such person or such parties as stand in their way to unity.

The communal disturbances now put the Muslims in a peculiar state of confusion, and awful helplessness and an anxious despair and most of them, being disappointed, are intent upon leaving their home land and a large number of people, it is rumoured, has already crossed the border.

It is also a fact that the Muslims have been isolating themselves from the social and political current of the country. It is quite obvious that this state of affairs is neither happy for the country nor for the Muslims themselves.

This can not be denied that on religion and cultural levels we are exposed to a number of threats.

The Muslims have been lagging behind in the field of education and commerce."

He added:-

"Another work which we have to do is to address our Hindu

our Hindu brethren through an appeal. There is a dearth of such Hindus, who, carrying little even for their life and completely disregarding the storm of oppositions, have called a spade of spade. We want to win their sympathies through our appeal to and contact with them. We shall try our utmost to approach a great number of such non-Muslims who have kept silence, and wish them to strengthen the cause of justice and fairplay, and request them to devote themselves to save the country from utter annihilation and ruin. We are sure that the forces of truth and justice can be mobilized as against those of tyranny and high-handedness".⁵⁷

Dr. Mahmud proposed that a committee consisting of a sizeable number of the participants of this Conference should be formed in order to implement decisions and to push them onwards.⁵⁸

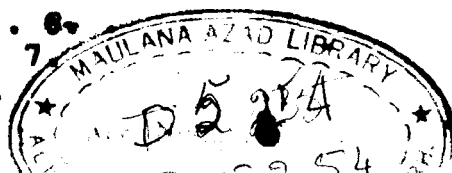
Dr. Mahmud urged the unity among the Muslims and said:-

"If this unity could lost even for a year, I am sure, God willing benediction would take you in their fold as the clouds gather in the sky to water and green the sterile and dreary tracts of land".⁵⁹

57. Ibid., p. 6.

58. Ibid., p. 7.

59. Ibid., p.



The President of the Conference, Dr. Syed Mahmud said that we should not forget that we were meeting such a moment when the Muslims minority was passing through a very critical period of history and our countrymen had fixed their gazes on our Conference and the Muslims had built up hopes in their hearts. So our duty was to fulfil the hopes of the Muslims, to organize the Muslims and one platform. If we could not do this, it would not be possible to organize themselves in the shape of a Conference for
60
a long time.

Concluding his Address, he said:-

"I tell you frankly that if such differences arose, you will be answerable to God Almighty on the Day of Judgement, because you could not unite yourselves at such a crucial moment".

He said again:

"You have to muster up courage and zeal, act with patience and perseverance and march on smoothly from success, and in this way, God willing, this caravan will be organized and we, who are on our last spasm, would be contentedly and conveniently yield place to a braver, more ambitious and more courageous team
61
of youngmen".

60. Ibid., p. 8.

61. Ibid.

In the last he prayed to God for the success of the session, and said:-

"Now, I pray to God that this two-days session of yours prepare the ground for the renaissance of the Millat and you go back with renewed energy and vigour".
62

The following resolutions were passed in that historic meeting of the Muslim leaders:-
63

No. 1. Thanking to God

This representative meeting of the Indian Muslims offers its thanks to God Almighty who, by His Grace, provided an opportunity to the representatives of different school of thoughts and organizations of the Millat to put their heads together and to deliberate upon the present situation.

Islam has ever aimed at making the Muslims an epoch-making force and history testifies to the fact that the Muslims have played very important role in uplifting the down-troddens, in elevating the backward, in uniting the disintegrated peoples and imbuing man with the virtues of humanity, but, as ill-luck would have it, the Muslims have for long neglected this part of their mission and have themselves fallen victim to mutual bickerings and disputes.

62. Ibid., p. 10.

63. Radiance, August 16, 1964.

Campaigning of Muslims of different schools of thought and number of different organizations against one another has not only caused the loss of their strength and capabilities but has even greatly lowered their values and their dignity.

This meeting, therefore, strongly feels the necessity of doing everything possible to see that these mutual bickerings are never allowed and all Muslims unite to benefit their community and the country.

This meeting prays to God Almighty that this unity be further strengthened and that the Millat by holding fast to the 'Strong of God' be able to play its unifying role.

No. 2. Martyrs Condoled

This representative meeting of the Indian Muslims considers its great privilege to pray for the peace of the souls of those killed as a result of the recent communal aggression demonstrated in four States of Northern and Central India.

No. 3. Condolence on Nehru's Death

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India expresses its profound grief on the death of great son of our country, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and considers it an extremely tragic event for India.

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India hopes that our new Government will do every thing to complete the unfinished work of Pt. Nehru and fully implement his policies, which lead to national unity and integration and stability of the country and which essentially establish justice, equality and toleration and will large heartedly and with courage and determination in this matter allowing no scope for reactionary force of the country.

No. 4. Exchange of Population

Citizenship is our hereditary and fundamental right, and no power can deprive valuable heritage by the Muslims of India and they can not permit that these are attacked from any quarters.

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India considers that those who raise such inhuman and anti-democratic cries are traitors to the country and it thinks that such activities are the greater insult to the Muslims. This meeting expresses its profound resentment and disgust against such cries. Muslims of India can under no circumstances tolerate such mischief and misdemeanour and are fully prepared to fight boldly against such mean and disrespectful attacks on their constitutional rights.

This meeting calls upon the Government that activities like this which constitute a serious blow to the integrity

of the country and democratic spirit of the Constitution should be declared as punishable crime and adequate steps to suppress such mischievous elements in the country in order that the atmosphere of peace and emotional integration of the country is not destroyed.

No. 5. East Pakistan Refugees

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India expresses its deep concern over the influx of uprooted Hindus from East Pakistan into India and calls upon the Government of Pakistan to create such peaceful and satisfactory conditions in its state that the Hindu minority there lives without discontent and fear and does not think of leaving its hearth and home.

No. 6. Infiltration

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India expresses its great concern and perturbation on the ill-treatment of Indian citizen under the cover of expelling the Pakistanis who have illegally infiltrated into Tripura and other parts of India.

No. 7. Disturbances

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India expresses its great concern and perturbation over the concerted and organized attacks on Muslims which took place a few months before specially in the four State of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh:-

(i) Danger to Democracy

These inhuman and barbarious events have not only caused perturbation and loss of confidence among the Muslims, but the fact, that such incidents are taking place even after seventeen years of Independence, is not tragic. Such incidents constitute a very great danger to the integrity, stability, democratic and secular principles, economic uplift and progress and evolution of Nationalism in the country.

(ii) Government's Failure

It is an admitted fact that the entire responsibility of protection of the life, property and honour of the citizens rests with the Government and its administration. But great losses of life and property suffered by the Muslims in the recent disturbances fully prove that the Government has failed in the discharge of this responsibility.

(iii) Papers and Political Parties

Several statements of responsible leaders and responsible reports of some national newspapers have revealed the fact that on the back of the disturbances were hands of some political or semi-political organizations, workers of some political parties, managers of some factories and even some responsible administrative officers.

This meeting, therefore, strongly presses its demand that the Government should institute a judicial enquiry into the causes and motions of these disturbances and impose collective fines in the affected areas.

(iv) Misleading Reports

This meeting sees with great concern the attitude of a section of the Press and some officers and institutions for incorrect reports and misleading details and thereby misdirect the public opinion and the Government. This meeting calls upon the Government to take effective steps to stop aggression and misleading propaganda.

(v) Cultivate Perseverance

This meeting appeals to the Muslims not to be perturbed by the destructive activities of mischief-making elements and decide to leave the country. This meeting strongly appeals to the Muslims not to lose patience and courage and make a resolve to remain in India; defeat the ambition of those forces which terrify and perturb Muslims by their mischievous and lawless activities and to take all necessary and legal measures to defend their life, property and honour.

(vi) Right Thinking Hindus

At the same time, this meeting takes up the pleasant responsibility of forcing and appreciating those non-Muslim leaders and a section of the Press which

boldly brought out the true facts of these disturbances and raised their voice in support of the oppressed to awaken the conscience of the country and thereby kept the light of justice and democracy burning. This meeting considers the attitude of these justice-loving persons and papers as a ray of hope and feels that it may be expected to dispel the darkness of the Indian life and uphold the spirit of humanity and justice.

(vii) National Duty

This meeting, realising that whatever the Government has so far done in the matter of rehabilitation and restoration of the oppressed is quite inadequate, calls upon the Government that just as the question of rehabilitation and restoration of refugees from Pakistan is being dealt with or an important national duty and trying to solve it with all its resources, in the same way the problem of rehabilitating those Indian citizens in Bihar, Orissa, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh should be treated as an important national duty to establish special branches of the rehabilitation department. This meeting is of the opinion that unless the work is done on this scale the problem of rehabilitation of these oppressed Muslims can not be solved.

(viii) State Government's Attitude

Along with the demand of rehabilitation of Muslims uprooted in the disturbances this meeting also expresses

its resentment and concern over the attitude of the State Government of Bengal and Bihar in making improper use of the Defence of India Rules and arresting hundreds of innocent and oppressed Muslims and thereby creating a feeling among the Muslims that despite their being oppressed they are not safe.

Hence, this attitude is of particularly and, therefore, this meeting calls upon the Government to release these oppressed people forthwith.

(ix) Obstacle in Rehabilitation

It is also a matter of great concern that a great obstacle is placed in the rehabilitation of uprooted Calcutta Muslim by certain schemes of the Improvement Trust whereby not only restoration of uprooted Muslims in their own laws has been rendered difficult, but there is also the fear of thousands of other Muslims being rendered homeless.

(x) Recruit Muslims in CID and SPE

This meeting feels it of great necessity that in the increase made in the Central Reserve Police, Muslims should be employed in large numbers, in order to enable them to play their role in this important department. In the opinion of this meeting, adequate representation of Muslims in the Central, State and local police in

the CID and Special Police Establishment will constitute a desired step towards prevention of disturbances, and this necessary demand should be met by the Government at the earliest.

No. 8. Derelection of Legislatures

In connection with the recent disturbances of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, this representative meeting of Muslims of India most regretfully and painfully notes the fact that apart from a few exceptions member of Parliament and State Assemblies who have been elected on secular basis, have failed to demonstrate the nobler tradition of speaking out the truth, condemning the oppressions and taking the Government to task for its weaknesses.

On the other hand, if anyone had the courage of performing this duty he had to face bitter criticisms and taunts. The attitude of Muslim members in this respect is, in the opinion of this meeting, particularly most disappointing and regrettable, as it was their bounden duty to make every effort to invite the attention of the Government to the State of the oppressed Muslims. But here also with the exception of very few, none had the courage to carry out this duty.

In the opinion of this meeting, this state of affairs is most regrettable, and appeals to all the members of Parliament and State Legislatures to re-examine their attitude. This meeting particularly want to make plain to the Muslim:

members that it is their most important duty inspite of the secular system of representation, to voice the problems and troubles of Muslims and their avoidance or indifference to this duty the Muslim community can never forgive.

9. National Integration

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India painfully expresses its disappointment that our brother countrymen have failed to make this country a symbol of unity and national integration.

This meeting reminds the Muslims that their main duty in this respect is not only to reform themselves, to shed their shortcomings and to seek remedies for their difficulties, but Islam has enjoined upon them to devote themselves to correct all blemishes.

This meeting, therefore, requests the Muslims that they should consider it their own duty to solve this vital problem of the country and their brother countrymen and not to hesitate in staving their very lives to bring about unity in the country and its people.

10. Consultative Committee

This representative meeting of the Muslims of India resolves to constitute a Muslim Consultative Committee for the purpose of implementing the resolutions passed by this meeting and to take suitable measures on emergent problems after mutual consultation.

This Committee will consist of twenty-one members and Dr. Syed Mahmud will be its President. The names of members and functions of the Committee will be announced by Dr. Syed Mahmud after consulting the following members:-

1. Mufti Atiqur Rehman
2. Maulana Asad Madni
3. Mohammad Ismail
4. Maulana Abul Lais
5. Maulana Manzoor Nomani
6. Mulla Jan Mohammad
7. Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi
8. Mohammad Muslim, and
9. Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait

This Committee will be authorised to take all such decisions which it considers necessary for the purpose. It will be competent to constitute parties to tour different parts of the country for implementing the resolutions passed at this meeting. It will be also authorised to select members for deputation formed to make representation to the Government on the circumstances called for.

11. All Communities Conventions

The one sided general massacre of Muslims, which has recently taken place in various parts of the country, covering an area of hundreds of miles, has made it manifest

that lawlessness in the country and aggression of mischievous elements of the majority community have reached the highest point and the fire of hatred against Muslims has flamed up to the extent that whether the Muslim population is eliminated from the country or not, the country will suffer irreparable loss. But in this atmosphere of darkness some such prominent leaders and personalities of the majority community have come forward whose hearts were deeply touched by these atrocities and aggression and they boldly and fearlessly and regardless of the consequences called tyranny by its name and expressed their determination to end this aggregation and communal canker and called upon the people to join them.

It is obvious that it is not the task of any single community of India to end this communal canker and aggression and it is impossible for one community to accomplish it and the cooperation and help of men of human sympathy and justice loving men among the majority community is essential for it.

This meeting, therefore, strongly feels that need of such convention in which leaders of different minority communities and clear headed, sympathetic members of the majority may participate. This meeting, therefore, approves of the proposal of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind to call such a convention.

The decision to constitute a Muslim Consultative Committee to implement the resolutions passed by this meeting and to take suitable measures on emergent problems after mutual consultation was really very much significant. After a long time, a consultative body of the Muslims belonging to people of different walks of life was established to provide a common platform for Muslims of India. It was expected that this body would prove to be a guidance centre for Muslims.

This decision was highly welcomed by the Muslims as well as the people of different opinions. Welcoming the decision, the Weekly Nida-e-Millat wrote:-

"Among the decisions of the Convention, the most important in our eyes is the decision of forming a permanent advisory body, which will materialise the proposals accepted by the Convention and it will be among its aims to adopt various measures to solve the forthcoming immediate problems after careful thinking. This body will function as the Executive Committee of the Convention and its formation indicates that the participants of the Convention have the sense of their permanent responsibilities and that they intend to actualise and execute the programmes of the Convention".

64

The paper further wrote:-

"At a time when the Muslims are passing through the state of immense hopelessness, if we are not able to utilise, even at this time, the field of opportunities that God has left wide in the matters of unity and cooperation through this Convention, then the reaction of the hopes, which they have associated with this Convention will be very bad and strange, and, as Dr. Syed Mahmud said in his Address, such a gathering will not be possible for a long time in future to shape the Indian Islamic community as an organisation, and in a state of despair, they will tend to act in such a way, which will create a lot of difficulties for us".⁶⁵

The Radiance, the Weekly Delhi, also wrote in one of its editorials:-⁶⁶

"But the most important resolution is that, which envisages the appointment of an All India Muslim Consultative Committee consisting 21 members belonging to the different groups of the Indian Muslims".

It added:-

"The Committee will, inter-alia, try to establish

65. Ibid.

66. Radiance, August 16, 1964.

a direct contact with the majority community and apprise it of the true feelings of the Muslim minority..."

"This Muslim Consultative Committee can go a long way in filling the vacuum of leadership among the Muslims in the best possible manner, since this will give them a truly democratic and representative leadership. If the spirit of compromise and accommodation that has been manifested at Lucknow and becomes permanent, the Indian Muslims will be able to solve not only their own problems and be an asset to the nation, at large, but will help in heralding a new area of the ascendancy of the moral and spiritual values, which are the foundation-stone of their religion".

"We are sure that under the guidance of Dr. Syed Mahmud, the President of the envisaged Muslim Consultative Committee and other primary members of the Consultative Committee will soon become ^a viable force in our national life, whose influence will be felt not only in all India matters, but also at the State and district levels".

Mulla Jan Mohammad, the oldest Khilafat leader expressed sentiments in these words:-

"This unparalleled Muslim organizational unity demonstrated the patent fault that the recent disturbances and

the increasing tempo of incidents of wanton destruction, have awakened the Muslim issues, as the greatest minority of this country, to such a realisation of the severe dangers confronting them, that they had to perforce, sink all their differences and unite to face this danger".⁶⁸

On the other side, the communal organizations and the Press condemned that meeting and reacted sharply over the resolutions passed by that meeting. As per their behaviour they suspected that a new separate party like Muslim League was going to be organized. They charged the Convention that it had encouraged separation among the Indian Muslims.

The official organ of the Communist Party of India, the New Age, in one of its issues sounded a note of surprise at a get-together in which all the Muslim parties having conflicting views have united, and said:-

"What has happened that the nationalists among Muslims have forgotten their nationalism and joined hands with the self-proclaimed communalists among them".⁶⁹

Again, accusing the delegates to the Convention of and casting the responsibility thereof on the Jamaat-e-Islami

68. Ibid., August 30, 1964.

69. Ibid.

the New Age regretted the liquidation of the nationalist Muslims in these words:-

"The credit for this achievement must be given to the Jamaat-e-Islami. If after decades of its development in which the carrying out of Pakistan as a separate State, was but a milestone, Muslim separatism in this country has risen now to its pinnacle and perfection. It is thanks to this organization".⁷⁰

Reacting sharply over this gathering, the Link wrote:-

"The All India Muslim Consultative Convention was a select gathering. The sponsors among whom the leading part was played by Dr. Syed Mahmud, Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Lucknow, and Maulana Abul Lais, leader of Jamaat-e-Islami, had invited only those, 71 who could agree with the line of work adopted by them."

Consequently, Dr. Z.A. Ahmad, the Communist leader, who had attended the Delhi Muslim Convention four years ago, was not invited to participate; on the other hand, the leaders of Jamaat-e-Islami were among the most active organisms. In part, the Convention was a fulfillment of the Jamaat's long-pursued objective of bringing all the Muslim Organizations to one platform. The Muslim League was also represented. Muslim Ministers in the Union and State Governments were

70. Ibid.

71. Link (Delhi), August 30, 1964.

not invited. It was felt by the sponsors that they would not express their opinions frankly.

The official organ of the Jana Sangh, the Organiser,⁷² charged that Rs. 2 lakhs had been spent over the delegates of the meeting, and asked the question that the huge money came from where? The second charge was imposed that the organisers kept all the proceedings of the meeting strictly secret, but inspite of the secrecy, the Organiser searched out that on the Kashmir issue, a hectic discussion was made⁷³ in that meeting to facilitate Sheikh Abdullah.

The Daily Pratap belongs to the Jana Sangh. It wrote:-

"Nobody will deny that the Lucknow Convention will create the feeling among Muslims that they are a separate nation and they can never live with Hindus and, therefore, they should be given this and that privilege. I feel, unless this sort of thinking comes⁷⁴ to an end, peace can not be achieved in this country".

The paper added:-

"If they (Muslims) have decided to live under the patronage of the Congress Government in all circumstances, their fate will also be the same as of the Congress⁷⁵ today".

72. Nida-e-Millat, September 4, 1964.

73. Ibid.

74. Al-Jemiat, August 13, 1964.

75. Ibid.

It is regretted that a large section of majority community and a particular section of minority community adopted the same attitude and tried to condemn the Muslim Convention alleging that the assembly was going to create a new Pakistan. It was matter of shame that when a minority of the country tried to unite themselves in solving their specific problems, it was declared anti-national, disloyal and separatist.⁷⁶ How this psychology is? Is there any reasoning behind it?

The Muslim Consultative Committee of the Convention elected Dr. Syed Mahmud as its President and founded the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat under resolution No.10 of the Convention referred to earlier. It firmly resolved to implement all the decisions taken in the Convention. The emergence of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat opened a new chapter in the Indian history.

The Convention and its decision to establish the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat had a dual significance, recognized by most of its participants, which went beyond the resolution of the moment. First, it was agreed that, because of the failures of the political process and of the Government of India to protect Muslims and promote national integration, the time had come for Muslims to act on their own behalf and on behalf of general interests of the country. Secondly,

76. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1975), p.248, and Radiance, August 16, 1964.

it was felt that the time had come for Muslims of different opinions to ignore their differences and work together to protect the broad interests of the Muslim community in India.

The formation of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat had its greatest impact in the north Indian States, particularly, in the two States of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar,⁷⁷ which have the largest concentrations of the Muslim population of India and where Muslim political activity had been largely dominant since the partition of India. In Uttar Pradesh, Dr. Abdul Jalil Faridi, a prominent physician-cum-politician of Lucknow, who had been very much active in Muslim cause for many years, immediately became the dominant and driving force in the State Branch of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat. The Branches of the Majlis were formed in forty districts of Uttar Pradesh.⁷⁸ In September, 1966, Dr. Faridi established an Urdu daily paper, 'The Qaed', specifically to air the platform and policies of the MMM and to articulate Muslim grievances and demands.⁷⁹ The Bihar Branch of the MMM was not

77. Zaheer Masood Qureshi, 'Electoral Strategy of a Minority Pressure Group: The MM', Asian Survey, Vol. 12, December, 1968, p. 978. State Units of the Majlis were also formed in Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The Muslim League in Madras and Kerala participated in the formation of the All-India Majlis, but the League retained its separate identity in those States.

78. Dr. A. J. Faridi's Interview, Radiance, October 9, 1966.

79. Radiance, September 25, 1966.

established until June, 1966. The primary organiser of the MMM in Bihar was Mohammad Yakub Younus, an hotel owner in Patna toured most of the districts of Bihar throughout the latter part of 1966 and assisted in the formation of District Units of the Majlis throughout Bihar. The State Units eventually followed different political strategies in their respective States.

Although the new found unity among the Muslims provided new vigour to Muslim political activity in the North, which carried through the 1967 general elections and after, the unity itself proved to be illusory. Differences on purpose and political strategy developed almost immediately. Broadly speaking, there were three main elements comprising the MMM - individual Muslim politicians like Dr. A.J. Faridi, who had unsuccessfully tried to voice the grievances of Muslims through the non-Congress political parties, the 'fundamentalist' Jamaat-e-Islami; and 'nationalist', Muslims like Dr. Syed Mahmud, who were member either of the Congress or of the Congress-oriented Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Besides these groups there were great independent men like Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Maulana Manzoor Nomani, etc. The main burden of political activity, ultimately, fell upon those

80. Ibid., November 6, 1966.

81. See Ibid., September 18, 1966, for report of district and town meetings in Sitamarhi and Champaran.

82. Zaheer Masood Qureshi, Electoral Strategy of the Minority Pressure Group, op. cit., pp. 976-77.

in the first category because the Jamaat-e-Islami leaders are in principle opposed to participants in party and electoral activity,⁸³ whereas the 'nationalist' and the Muslims associated with the Congress soon became uncomfortable with the militance and anti-Congress attitudes of men like Dr. Abdul Jalil Faridi. The leaders of the Jamaat-e-Islami did not include themselves in the political activity, but they continued to support the Majlis through their press organs. A section of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema led by Maulana Asad Madni⁸⁴ faction soon withdrew, and the Congress Muslims who remained became embroiled in controversy with Dr. Faridi over strategy and tactics.

It was clear from the beginning that there were differences among the various Muslim leaders over even the general purpose of the MMM. All were gratified by the initial unity of Muslim groups, but some like Dr. Mahmud was of the view that the MMM should be used as Hindu-Muslim unity and by which the Muslims of India could express their love⁸⁵ for their Indian Homeland, whereas the Jamaat-e-Islami wanted to use this platform as Muslim unity and to preserve⁸⁶ the Muslim identity. A third orientation was that of

83. Radiance, December 25, 1966.

84. For details see Ibid., August 28, September 11 and 18, October 23, 1966.

85. Ibid., September 18, 1966.

Dr. Faridi, who saw the MMM as primarily a vehicle for political action; to press the political demands of Muslims.⁸⁷

Political role of the MMM started from 1965 when the MMM took part in the agitation against the Government of India's policies towards the Aligarh Muslim University and for the pressurisation of the minority character of the University.⁸⁸ A resolution in this context was passed⁸⁹ condemning the Government of India's action.

In September war of 1965 between India and Pakistan, the MMM strongly condemn the Pakistan's aggression; and in an emergent meeting of the MMM at Delhi, the following⁹⁰ resolution was passed:-

"The Majlis at its meeting on the 19th June, 1965 passed a resolution in regard to the Rann of Kutch which stated as under:

"Despite these efforts at settlement, if war is thrust upon our motherland, the Majlis declares that the sixty million Muslims of India stand shoulder to shoulder with the rest of our countrymen offending the honour and integrity of India, and will be prepared for every service and sacrifice to render their duty by their country".

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., October 9, 1966. The resolution on the Aligarh Muslim University was passed by the All India MMM on June 19 and 20, 1965.

89. Dawat, May 10, 1965.

90. Radiance, September 12, 1966

The resolution added:

"Now this fear has come true and Pakistan has attacked our motherland through sending infiltrators and has committed clear aggressiveness. And this was thrust upon us. We have, therefore, to defend the honour and integrity of our country; the Majlis is sure that the Muslims of India along with their fellow countrymen will do every thing and sacrifice their⁹¹ all to vindicate the honour of our motherland".

The MMM had presented various demands (the status of Urdu, the restoration of the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University, the preservation of the Muslim Personal Law, the changes in school text-books, etc.) of the Muslims before the Government and urged to solve them, and passed⁹² many resolutions. However, as the general election(1967) approached, the MMM increasingly turned itself into a political instrument to bargain with the political parties and individual candidates to support the demands of the MMM in return for⁹³ the backing of the MMM in the elections.

Although the MMM decided not to contest the elections directly, it prepared a 'People's Manifesto', containing nine

91. Ibid.

92. Nida-e-Millat, April 10, 1966.

93. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op. cit., p.250.

points, which effectively summarised the main grievances and demands of Muslims, including specifically, ^{the} revision of text-books, the demand for a system of proportional representation in elections, the protection of the Muslim Personal Law, the demand to declare Urdu as a second official language in the north Indian States, and an insistence on preserving the minority character and tradition of the ⁹⁴ Aligarh Muslim University. The most controversial aspects of the Manifesto within the Majlis were two portions of the 'Introduction', which expressly blamed the Government and the Congress Party for failing to protect the Muslims ⁹⁵ and to alleviate the sources of Muslim discontent.

After issuing the People's Manifesto, a "Manifesto Week" between August 19 and 20, 1966 was celebrated, in which

94. People's Manifesto of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat.

95. Ibid., pp. 3-5. Referring to communal riots of 1964, the Manifesto declared: "The Government on whose shoulders lay squarely the responsibility to control the situation had unfortunately pleaded the philosophy of reaction. The support of this theory of reaction, by those who had the greatest responsibility to maintain law and order, has rendered the situation even more hopeless".

Dr. Syed Mahmud was particularly unhappy with the following section of the Manifesto (Interview, L.2-8):-

"It is generally felt among the Muslims that the party, which has been continuously in the last 19 years has failed to abide by its lofty principles and has not proved itself earnest particularly in the amelioration of Muslim grievances".

people were told about the Manifesto and the demands, which were containing it. There was a warm and enthusiastic response throughout the length and breadth of India. It has once again amply demonstrated that the Majlis has filled a big gap in the life of the Indian Muslims. In almost every important town of India,"meetings have been held to support the People's Manifesto". "Prayers have been offered to God Almighty in the mosques everywhere for the success of the Majlis".

But it is strange that the press has generally neglected the 'Manifesto of the Majlis', which was reported to have been sent for publication to almost all important papers of India. Even from among the Urdu press, some papers have either neglected the 'Manifesto' or opposed it indirectly.

About the People's Manifesto, the Radiance wrote in one of its editorials:-

"The Majlis has rightly decided not to assume the role of a political partyⁱⁿ the coming General Elections, since that would make it impossible for it to act as the common platform of all groups and organization of the Indian Muslims".

96. Radiance, August 28, 1966.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., July 31, 1966.

Disagreement of the attitude to be taken towards the Congress in the coming elections within the Majlis soon became open when Dr. A.J. Faridi made it clear that he intended to follow, though, on the logic of the Manifesto, refusing to support any Congress candidates, agreeing to support only anti-Congress candidates, and by generally adopting an explicit anti-Congress posture.¹⁰⁰ But soon the differences between the central organization and the Uttar Pradesh organization of the MMM over,¹⁰¹ and in the light of the guidelines passed by the central MMM in its meeting held in Delhi on December 12, 1966, the U.P. Majlis in its meeting held in Rai Bareilly on December 13, 1966, passed¹⁰² the following resolution:-

"This meeting of the Executive Committee of the U.P. State Majlis appointed a committee consisting of the following members in order to provide a guidance to the people of the State in general and to Muslims in particular in relation to coming elections as per the resolution passed by the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat held on December 12, 1966:-

100. Dr. A.J. Faridi's Interview, Nida-e-Millat, November 25, 1966.

101. Radiance, June 8, 1967.

102. Resolution passed by the State MMM on December 18, 1966, Nida-e-Millat, December 24, 1966.

1. Dr. Abdul Jalil Faridi
2. Mohammad Shafiqur Rehman
3. Mohammad Zulfiqar Ullah
4. Dr. Mohammad Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi
5. Iqbal Husain Khan
6. Abdur Rehman
7. Maulana Mohammad Aqil

Taking care of the resolution passed by the All India MMM and keeping in view of the hopeless record of nineteen years Congress Party rule, which has been mentioned in the (People's) 'Manifesto' of the Majlis (approved on July 22, 1966) ... and also keeping in view of the fact that the attitude of the Muslim legislatures, who have been elected on the Congress tickets, has been very disheartening and deplorable. This Committee would have to select from among the candidates contesting the seats all over the State, those persons, who are in an overall agreement with the clauses of the Majlis Manifesto and who accept the spirit of the 'Manifesto' or otherwise they are preferable from the view-point of the Majlis as a whole. A list of such candidates would be published in the light of the principles of the Majlis and full effort would be made to make them successful".

To clarify the Manifesto, the central MMM passed a resolution in its meeting held in the office of the MMM, Basti Nizamuddin, New Delhi, in which it repeated that the Majlis would not take part in the forthcoming elections,

but will support the best candidates to which parties they belong to. It, too, issued some guidelines in this connection. About the People's Manifesto, it was said in the decision:-

"The 'People's Manifesto' was only one stage of our journey, which still continues. With its help we tried to rekindle in our masses social consciousness and a feeling of responsibility, and have collected a team of onward looking individuals everywhere whose aims are high and whose social and political consciousness is asserting itself more and more".

It added:-

"We are sure that we will, provided the Majlis succeed in bringing to the Parliament and the State Assemblies trusting candidates, be able to play an important role in taking our people out of the present atmosphere of despondence and anxiety".

In the decision, it was said:-

"The Majlis is aware of the fact that the

103. A Historic Decision of the All India MMM About the Forthcoming Election (New Delhi), p. 5. Also see, Nida-e-Millat, December 23, 1966.

104. Ibid., Preface.

105. Ibid., Preface, p. ii.

enthusiastic zeal required for spreading our message to non-Muslims could not be mustered fully- but still, it is not disappointed. Rather, it is felt that to whomsoever among the non-Muslims, the message could reach, it was received with enthusiastic .

As far as the General Election is concerned, the MMM definitely avows that election is not among its basic objects for which Indian Muslims should exert the major part of their energy; rather it is necessary to devote themselves on the principal objectives to which the Majlis came into existence".

Some guiding principles to the Muslims were given as follows:-

- "1. The first thing to be remembered in this connection is that the States of the Indian Muslims, although it may have been lowered in practice, because of the behaviour of the other peoples or on account of their own faults, is still in law and under the Constitution, that of equal partners in the Government of the country, we must always keep in view in all our efforts that however low the Muslims might have fallen due to their own mistakes or the prejudices of others, it is our earnest duty to raise ourselves to the position granted to us by the Indian Constitution and law of the land.

2. Another important point to be kept in view is that whatever decision the Muslims take must be in full confirmity with their claim of being "Servant of the People" (Khadim-e-Khulque).
3. Thirdly, they should not forget the fact that there is considerable lack of mutual confidence between the majority and the minority communities. Therefore, no step can be successful unless it finds response¹⁰⁷ in a larger section of the majority communities".

The Majlis offered the following advice to the Muslims:-

"Muslims should, after keeping in view the three guiding principles, cast their votes in the coming elections in favour of the candidates irrespective of religion, caste or community without any consideration of their party alliances, who possess the following qualifications:-

- (a) 'They must be liberal minded, free from religious, communal, provincial and linguistic narrow-mindedness.
- (b) Their political mind and character must confirm to the basic principles of the ideals of peace, democracy and secularism'.

107. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

4. They should consider every citizen of the country as a brother, irrespective of religion or community and caste or creed. They should confirm to the 'People's Manifesto' to a great deal, and must accept its spirit. Such a candidate would be fully entitled to the votes of Muslims".¹⁰⁸

In the last, it was stated:-

"The central Majlis will constitute a small committee to supervise the election affairs. The MMM will not set up any candidate; nor shall anybody stand a candidate on behalf of the Majlis".

"If any office-bearer of the Majlis stands a candidate, he shall have to resign from the office".

"If the workers of the Majlist act after fully understanding the above details, and the States Committee held to send in honest and large hearted representatives to the Parliament and the Assemblies, it is hoped that a large number of vital problems of the country would be solved by themselves".¹⁰⁹

The MMM took part in election on the basis of its Manifesto and supported the candidates according to the

108. Ibid., p. 5.

109. Ibid.

decisions. But it is quite clear that the Congress candidates were not supported in large numbers, particularly, in the north States. The U.P. Majlis supported only one Congress candidate, Subhadra Joshi from Balrampur Parliamentary constituency in the 1967 elections, who had devoted her political life to combating communalism and who was contesting against one of the most prominent leader of the Jana Sangh, Atal Bihari Vajpaee.¹¹⁰ The Bihar unit of MMM did not go along with Dr. Faridi's pure anti-Congressism and supported 53 Congress candidates for the Bihar Assembly.¹¹¹ However, it is worth noting that, even in Bihar, the MMM supported more non-Congress than Congress candidates, and that, if the proportion of party candidates supported by the Majlis to the number of seats contested by each party is considered, then the Bihar MMM gave greater proportionate support to the J.K.D. and to the CPI than to the Congress. Moreover, important and influential Muslim leaders in Bihar, such as, Ghulam Sarwar, Editor of the Patna Urdu Daily, The Sangam, and a leader of Bihar Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu, adopted the same anti-Congress stand as Dr. Faridi in Uttar Pradesh, which neutralized the Majlis support for the Congress,¹¹² particularly in ten key-constituencies of Patna West.

110. Zaheer Masood Qureshi, Electoral Strategy of a Minority Pressure Group, op. cit., p. 979.

111. Ibid. Figures on candidates supported by the MMM, p. 979.

112. Radiance, December 11, 1967. In Patna (West), the Majlis bowed to the personal wishes of Dr. S. Mahmud and supported the Congress Chief Minister K.B. Sahay, but most Muslim leaders and voters supported Mahamaya Prasad Sinha (who signed the Majlis pledge) and who became Chief Minister of the First United Front Government in Bihar.

The electoral strategy adopted by the Majlis was one of considerable political sophistication. Three mimeographed sheets were prepared and sent or given to candidates, containing a resume of the nine points in the People's Manifesto, and two duplicate pledge forms to be signed and returned to the President of the State Unit of the MMM and to the All-India General Secretary. The pledge forms committed those candidates, who signed them to support the 'nine points' and work for their adoption by the legislature and the Government, if elected in return for the support to the Majlis in the election. Sixty-nine candidates in Bihar signed and returned the pledge forms. The State Unit supported these candidates as well as others, who were considered generally sympathetic to the Muslim cause. Triplicate in this pledge was a commitment on the part of the Majlis to attempt to deliver a solid bloc of Muslim votes to sympathetic candidates.

113

Although the Majlis supported both Hindu and Muslim candidates and, especially in Uttar Pradesh, and it is a point to work against Muslim candidates, who had not supported Muslim causes in the past, a large percentage of the

114

113. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op. cit., p. 252.

114. Radiance, October, 1966. Also see "Interview" of Dr. A.J. Faridi, L 1:28. In the words of Dr. Faridi, "The MMM would prefer to support an honest non-Muslim to the existing stock of Muslim legislatures".

candidates supported by the Majlis were Muslims. In Bihar, 38 out of 161 Assembly candidates (23.6%), who were supported, were Muslims. The figure for Uttar Pradesh is 29 out of 134 or 21.6%.¹¹⁵

There has been considerable speculation and some scholarly analysis of the impact of the MMM and of Muslim discontent generally upon the 1967 elections and particularly upon the Congress electoral decline in those elections. Zaheer Masood Qureshi demonstrated that the Majlis itself played at most a marginal role in the election results in the States and constituencies where it attempted to influence the outcome.¹¹⁶ As an electoral organization, the Majlis was not particularly effective in either State. However, there is some ground for believing that the Majlis contributed to a heightening of Muslim discontent, to its expression through the political process, and to 'detouring' Muslims from their usual solid support for the Congress.¹¹⁷

The MMM played a prominent role in the 1967 General Elections and it is safely said that due to the influence of the Majlis, the Congress Party was badly debacled in the

115. Zaheer Masood Qureshi, Electoral Strategy of a Minority Pressure Group, op. cit., p. 985.

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid., p. 987.

election, particularly in the north States where the non-Congress Governments were formed.

In their own assessment of the election results(1967), the Provincial Congress organization in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar conceded that they had lost Muslim votes. The Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee reported to the All India Congress Committee that "Muslims generally voted against the Congress". In an indirect reference to the Majlis, the report went on to say that "some kind of secret (sic) organization was at work among them, which aimed at defeating the Congress candidates irrespective of whether the opponents were Communists or Jana Sangh candidates. There is a somewhat petulant suggestion in this statement that the Majlis was so blinded by anti-Congressism that it was willing to support or permit the victory of parties, whose ideological principles were opposed to Islam (in the Communist case) and the Muslims (in the Jana Sangh case). The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee attributed its electoral decline in part to both Hindu and Muslim communalism, but did not mention 'Majlis' even indirectly. However, the U.P. report remarked that 'the Congress base hitherto was mostly minorities, Muslims, Harijans, backward classes and the peasantry. This time opposition succeeded in making a dent in this Congress stronghold.

118. Nida-e-Millat, March 3, 1967.

119. Preliminary Report on Election Results (1967) from some Pradesh Congress Committees' by the All India Congress Committee, New Delhi.

Commenting on the election results of 1967, the Gaumi Awaaz (Lucknow) said that it was the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, which misguided the Muslims in the elections and the Muslim voted against the Congress that made the ¹²⁰ Jana Sangh successful. But this assessment is not near the truth as the Jana Sangh, even in Uttar Pradesh, had not got big support, while in the South its performance was very poor.

Commenting on the Jana Sangh's poor performance in the 1967 elections, Dilip Mukerjee wrote:-

"The interest being shown by some Jana Sangh leaders in forging closer with the Swatantra ^{party} ~~Party~~ reflects their disappointment with the outcome of the 1967 elections. For all the efforts made by the Jana Sangh to give itself a broader geographic and social base, it remains, as before, very much a regional party confined to the Hindi speaking heartland".

"Even in the Hindi heartland, the Sangh is nowhere near the commanding position it hoped a special case because of its large refugee population, it is the second largest party in three out of the five ¹²¹ States".

120. Gaumi Awaaz (Lucknow), February 28, 1967.

121. The Statesman (New Delhi), March 29, 1967.

About the disappointing results in Uttar Pradesh and northern States, the same paper-writer said:-

"In U.P. the Sangh has now 99 seats in a house of 425, but only one out of five voted for it as compared with one out of six in 1962. In Haryana, it has taken only 12 seats out of 81 obtaining less than one in six votes. In Bihar, where expectations ran high because of factional infighting in the Congress, the Sangh got only one vote in 10 and finished up far behind the SSP, while the Communists taken together had a slight edge over it. In Rajasthan, the Swatantra Party is quite clearly the senior partner of the alliance the Sangh formed with it the first Government one vote in five, but the second only one in ten".¹²²

The political strategy of the MM for the 1967 elections included the extraction of commitments from those candidates, who signed the Majlis pledge form to support the demands in the People's Manifesto in the legislature and before the Government if they were elected. The general feeling even of the Majlis leaders was that this aspect of their strategy was not at all effective. After the 1967 elections, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, the political contest in those States changed from party systems in which the Congress was dominant to a fluid system of coalition politics. The new

122. Ibid., March 29, 1967.

pattern of coalition politics presented both new opportunities and new dangers for non-party interest-groups and required a re-evaluation of political strategies. In principle, in a fluid system of coalition politics, in which the support even of individuals and independent MLAs is courted by competing Coalitions, minority interests¹²³ ought to be able to enhance their importance. In fact, however, as will be shown below, the period of Coalition politics in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar did not benefit Muslim political interests after two reasons. First, some individuals elected with the Majlis did not pursue the interests of Muslims but only their own personal ambitions. Secondly, although some of the political parties attempted to make good on their campaign pledges to the Majlis, when they did, the issues, particularly Urdu became a basis for inter-party struggle which disrupted the stability of Coalition Governments.

The failure of the initial Majlis strategy to achieve concrete benefits for Muslims and for their problems in Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar had different consequences in the two States. In Bihar, the Majlis became defunct. In September, 1970, a new organization was formed in Bihar,¹²⁴ called the Awami Tanzeem, which became a constituent of

123. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op. cit., p. 253.

124. Radiance, September 27, 1970.

the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat in that State. In Uttar Pradesh, the Majlis took a different course, Continuing under the leadership of Dr. A.J. Faridi, the whole U.P. Unit of the MM transformed itself in June, 1968¹²⁵ into a political party, called the U.P. Muslim Majlis, and affiliated to the All India MMM. The U.P. Muslim Majlis contested the 1969 mid-term elections to the Legislative Assembly on its own legs and formed alliances with other minority candidates in some constituencies. Dr. Faridi claimed that the Majlis ran seventeen candidates, of whom¹²⁶ five were successful, but the official returns show only two Majlis candidates both of whom's security deposit was¹²⁷ forfeited. But the official returns were not correct that the Majlis candidates contested election on independent election symbols, which were allotted to them, because the party was not recognized at that time. Nasimuddin Siddiqui from Kanpur, Mohammad Masood Khan from Azamgarh, and Israr Ahmad Khan from Budaun contested the election as¹²⁸ Majlis candidates and were declared elected.

125. A.J. Faridi, 'Judge Us: Our Policies', Radiance, March 7, 1971. Also see, Aljamiat and Gaumi Awaz, June 12, 1968.

126. Dawat, March 7, 1969; "Interview" of Dr. A.F. Faridi in Lucknow on March 5, 1969.

127. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op. cit., p. 245.

128. Qaad, March 20, 1969.

Since its transformation into a political party, the Uttar Pradesh Muslim Majlis has faced two major problems. The first has been the continuing problems of finding the most productive political strategy to achieve concrete benefits for Muslims and their problems. In pursuit of a viable political strategy the U.P. Majlis ultimately came full circle from its total opposition in 1967 to an explicit alliance with the Congress (R) under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in the 1971 parliamentary elections.¹²⁹ However, the alliance with the Congress (R) in U.P. also has not been productive of concrete benefits¹³⁰ for Muslims or their problems. The Congress (R) leader in Uttar Pradesh and the man, who became Chief Minister with the support of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has been Kamalapati Tripathi, long considered by Muslims to be an inveterate enemy of Urdu and of Muslim interests.¹³¹ A second problem for the U.P. Majlis has been to establish itself as the major political party representing Muslim interests in the North. In this respect, it has recently faced competition from the Muslim League, which has extended its organization into northern India.

129. Radiance, February 14 and 21, March 7 and April 18, 1971.

130. Ibid., August 22, 1971 and April 9, 1972.

131. Ibid., July 19, 1970, January 10 and 31, 1970, February 21, March 7, and June 6 and 13, 1971. This was a great set-back to Majlis that 4 out of 5 MLAs left the Majlis and joined the Congress or other political parties.

Although the Majlis in U.P. has, therefore, not achieved major success either in pursuit of Muslim interests or in establishing itself as a serious political party representing Muslims, it continues to play an important role in articulating Muslim grievances and demands. In a letter to the Chief Minister Kamlaapati Tripathi in May, 1971, Dr. Faridi reiterated the major demands of the Majlis, increased facilities for teaching Urdu in the schools, the right to use Urdu and have Urdu speeches recorded in Persian script in the Legislative Assembly, the granting of status as second official language to Urdu, the creation of an Urdu University at Rampur, removal of a committee to inquire into 'the socio-economic and the educational backwardness of the Muslim minority, recruitment of Muslims to public services in proportion to their percentage in the population of the State, punishment of police officers, who behaved improperly during the communal riots, and the establishment of a Minorities Council in the State with the Chief Minister as its Chairman. ¹³² In the absence of available Muslim political strategy, however, the fulfillment of such demands upon the good wishes of the leaders of the predominant political parties in the State, who have so far not found the support of the Muslim Majlis to be critical to their ¹³³ political future.

133. Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, op. cit., p. 255.

Apart from the political role played, the MMM in 1967 General Elections (in which the Congress received a great set-back), represented the various Muslim problems before the Government and worked as an intermediary between the Muslims and the Government, and tried to solve the problems of the Muslims, and the most important role played by the MMM was to establish peace and harmony between the Muslims and the majority community. As the MMM was established for a better dealing with the majority community on behalf of the Muslims. The great task was done by it very ably. To promote Hindu-Muslim unity, the first activity of the MMM towards that task was organising a joint Hindu-Muslim goodwill tours to riot-affected areas of the country. A number of deputations were proceeded for this purpose. But after its formation, a two-man-fact-finding party consisting Mohammad Muslim, Editor of Dawat (Delhi) and Moulvi Mohammad Agil of Allahabad, was proceeded to Bihar and Orissa in connection with the riot. Dr. Mahmud himself toured Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. On the eve of his tour, a joint appeal was issued by V.I.Ps of Hindus and Muslims and published. In the appeal it was said:-

"The Muslims in India have been target of much suspicion and consequently of unkindness. The recent

134. Radiance, September 13, 1964.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid., September 20, 1964.

happenings in Calcutta, Jamshedpur, Rourkela and other places have increased their fears and frustrations. But for the prompt and firm measures taken by the Government and in spirit of amity and cooperation shown by men of goodwill in the two communities, the situation would have become perilous¹³⁷".

The appeal added:-

"We are sure all our countrymen with good sense and foresight would join with us in exerting all their strength to prevent the situation from deteriorating. No one can contemplate with equanimity the wild talk about uprooting millions of human beings from their hearths and homes and rendering them helpless victims¹³⁸ of communal fury".

In the last it was stated:-

"A number of the Muslim groups have expressed their keen desire that their leaders should undertake in association with Hindu friends to tour the country and carry the message of peace and goodwill to all our countrymen so as to promote integrity and solidarity¹³⁹ of the nation".

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

Some prominent signatories of the appeal were the following:-

1. Mufti Atiqur Rehman, Acting President of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind.
2. Dr. M.S. Aney, M.P., Ex-Governor of Bihar.
3. N.M. Anwar, M.P.
4. R.R. Dewaker, M.P., Ex-Governor of Bihar.
5. Shaim Kumari, M.P.
6. Begum Anisa Kidwai, M.P.
7. Maulana Abul Lais, President, Jammat-e-Islami Hind.
8. Maulana Asad Madni, General Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind.
9. Jayaprakash Narayan.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, along with the following members
141
toured the riot-affected areas:-

1. Mufti Atiqur Rehman
2. Maulana Manzoor Nomani
3. Maulana Abul Lais
4. Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi
5. Mulla Jan Mohammad
6. Mohammad Muslim
7. Mohammad Ismail
8. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, and
9. Mohammad Anwar, M.P.

The deputation was received everywhere with great enthusiasm and respect. In Ranchi, over thirty-thousand
142
people received their leaders. How the magnificent occasion was, the Radiance reported:-

"The city had occasion in the past 17 years since Independence to witness numerous receptions and fetes in honour of visiting celebrities. But they were all State functions or very nearly so. It was, therefore, rather incredible that these ten leaders should have received from but a trampled minority a ceremonious welcome that literally those other occasions. The city had undergone a complete face-lift, nay, soul elevation. Muslim faces in particular were wreathed with beaming
143
smiles".

Dr. Syed Mahmud expressing his gratification at people's enthusiasm said that "he felt invigorated in his old age at the exhibiting warm reception accorded to the
144
Deputation by the people of Ranchi." He said, "We have taken up the heavy responsibility on our weak shoulders of Hindu-Muslim unity and the well-being of the country and trusting
145
to our God we are going ahead".

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

He continued:-

"On the eve of our starting on this tour the Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, gave us a message in a letter that his good wishes are with us in our undertaking and he wished success in our efforts to bring about Hind-Muslim unity and to create an atmosphere of amity and national affection".¹⁴⁶

Speaking before a crowded audience, which gathered in the evening dwelt at length on the significance of Lucknow West in which leaders of all varieties of Muslim thoughts had gathered together and all resolutions were considered dispassionately and passed unanimously, Maulana Abul Lais, the President of the Jamaat-e-Islami, emphasised that instead of enthusiasm there was cool thinking and instead of panic there was calm consideration with the result that whatever it decided had immediate effect all over the country, a proof of which a today's reception, procession and gathering.¹⁴⁷

Mohammad Ismail, the President of the Indian National Muslim League, after paying a tribute to the martyrs of the communalist, instantly asked Muslims not to despair or lose heart but to trust in God and hold fast to the Islamic way of life. He stressed the need of unity in the Muslim ranks,¹⁴⁸ which was sinequanon of all progress and uplift.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid. ,

N.M. Anwar, M.P., exhorted Muslims not to be dejected by sufferings but to resolve with courage and determination¹⁴⁹ to create a better atmosphere.

A deputation of the MMM led by its President Dr. Syed Mahmud, M.P., and consisting of the following members met the then Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda in¹⁵⁰ connection with the problems of the Muslims:-

1. Mohammad Ismail, M.P.
2. Maulana Abul Lais
3. Maulana Mufti Atiqur Rehman
4. Maulana Asad Madni
5. Mohammad Muslim
6. C.H. Mohammad Koya, M.P.
7. Ahad Fatima
8. Maulana Mohammad Ismail Katki
9. A.K.K. Abdul Samad, M.P., and
10. N.M. Anwar, M.P. (General Secretary)

The President, Dr. Syed Mahmud, made a statement in some detail describing the activities of the Majlis. Dr. Mahmud explained the objects of the deputation in seeking the interview. He praised the great work done by the Minister during the riots in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa,¹⁵¹ and his services for re-establishing peace and security.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid., October 11, 1964.

151. Ibid.

Dr. Mahmud referred to certain prejudices regarding the Muslim League and Jamaat-e-Islami and mentioned that though Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opposed communalism tooth and nail, nevertheless, acknowledged that the Muslims were naturally attached to the Muslim League, because of an old sentiment connected with it. And Dr. Mahmud maintained that the Jamaat-e-Islami as a religious and cultural organization¹⁵² is doing good work for communal harmony. Any way, these two organizations were identifying themselves solidly and unreservedly with the objects and the mission of the consultative committee in fostering good-will and amity amongst all people.

Dr. Mahmud appealed to the Government to expedite the work of relief and rehabilitation of the riot-victims so as to provide reassurance to the people for this purpose, he urged this rehabilitation work should also be brought under¹⁵³ the Rehabilitation Ministry.

The then Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda assured:-

"All possible steps will be taken to bring the real offenders to book, though it may be difficult to¹⁵⁴ do so during massive upheavals".

The Home Minister revealed in the course of his talk

152. Ibid.

153. Ibid.

154. Ibid.

with the deputationists:-

"Effective instructions have been issued by the Government several weeks ago for seeing that no injustice is being done to Muslim citizens of Assam in dealing with the question of the infiltration into that State. He assured that the Government of India will see that their instructions are strictly carried out by the State Government in all these matters".¹⁵⁵

Jayaprakash Narayan along with some other Sarvodaya leaders like Man Mohan Chaudhri, Sidhraj Budda and Rikhi, and members of the Indo-Pak reconciliation group, J.J. Singh, Shiva Rao, Mulgaoker and S.K. Radha Krishnan met the members of the MMM. and discussed the various problems of the Muslims.¹⁵⁶ Jayaprakash Narayan said that he had not much to say. He agreed with the idea of Muslim leaders going out and meeting the people.¹⁵⁷ In this meeting an appeal to the Indian citizens¹⁵⁸ was also drafted.

Soon after the formation of the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, a deputation of the Majlis led by Dr. Syed Mahmud met the Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri and presented a 'Memorandum', in which, amongst other things, it was

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid., September 20, 1964.

157. Ibid.

158. Ibid. (See Appeal).

pleaded that the Government should ensure stringent precautionary measures for the security of life and property of the Muslim community in the future and that the Rehabilitation Ministry should be empowered to provide relief and rehabilitation for the Muslims, who were victims of the recent riots in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.¹⁵⁹

While submitting on behalf of the Majlis, its Memorandum, the resolutions of Lucknow Convention and the joint appeal of the leading lights of India for communal harmony, Dr. Syed Mahmud explained how the Muslim community has risen as one-man to work for communal harmony, in response to the appeal of the Lucknow Convention, where all Muslim parties had gathered together for the first time, since Khilafat days over forty years ago.¹⁶⁰

In the Memorandum, it was stated:-

"We met at Lucknow on 8th and 9th August, 1964, all the different Muslim parties participating; and we unanimously decided not to shed tears, but to take courage and campaign for communal harmony all over the country. This was the main resolution of the Convention. A feeling of confidence and reassurance

159. Ibid., October 4, 1964.

160. Ibid.

was thus generated amongst the Muslims, and many noble leaders of Hindu community reciprocated this gesture of good-will and issued a joint appeal for communal harmony".¹⁶¹

The Prime Minister, while giving a patient and sympathetic hearing to the deputation, assured the community:

"The Government will do their best not only in relief and rehabilitation, but also in all other matters, which the deputationists may urge for the good of the Muslim community".¹⁶²

A number of deputations were sent also to all over India for establishing communal harmony and seeking cooperation from the majority community. In every place, the deputationists were whole-heartedly welcomed. In maintaining peace and harmony between Muslims and Hindus these delegations played a prominent role.¹⁶³

Undoubtedly, the MMM performed a great role in bringing communal amity between the Muslims and the majority community. It tried to establish peace and harmony between the two. It tried also to minimise the tension between both the communities, and, on the other side, to restore courage and confidence in the frustrated Muslims and created

161. Ibid.

162. Ibid.

163. Dawat.

love and affection towards the fellow beings. Although ever since 1947, Muslims had been the object of suspicions and misunderstandings, the MMM tried to remove these suspicions and misunderstandings.

In the riot affected areas, the delegates toured and tried to pacify both the communities. It strongly condemned the communal frenzy and urged the Government to check it. The MMM passed, from time to time, many resolutions in connection with the Muslim grievances and problems as well as the common problems of the country. It also informed the majority community about Muslim's problems and tried to seek their best cooperation.

It is, of course, the MMM, which re-enacted the great days of Khilafat movement, when Hindus, Muslims and other communities had participated in, and presided over by leaders of Hindus and Muslims and testified to the grand success.

CHAPTER IV

MUSLIM MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT : AIMS AND ORGANIZATION

A meeting of the representatives of the All- India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat was convened on August 8-9, 1969^{4 M} at Lucknow wherein the prevailing situation of the Muslims in India was discussed and several resolutions were adopted. It was also reiterated that the Muslims should not be concerned only at their problems, difficulties and should not devote all their energies to solve their problems, but they must also follow the tenets of Islam, which commit them to the improvement of society in general and to promote unity and amity amongst all the sections of the Indian society. Since the Muslims are basically humanists, it is binding upon them to transcend all considerations of caste, race and colour in their dealings with their fellow-citizens.

In that meeting it was also decided that an organization- Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat (MMM), a consultative body of Muslims, be established, and which should discuss the immediate problems and search out their solutions. This body was also empowered to take steps which it considered imperative to the realisation of its professed goals.

In accordance with these resolutions, the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat was founded. A Constitution was passed

in 1965, which was partially amended in 1966. However, on April 20, 1968, taking into consideration the situation in the country an altogether 'New Constitution' was adopted for which Lucknow Convention had made recommendations. The aims of the Majlis were made more explicit and provisions were made for greater representation of the various Muslim ideological groups, sects and parties. Provision for inclusion and participation of renowned individuals in the organization were also deliberated. It was hoped that after these changes the MMM shall be able to obtain the maximum support of all the Indian Muslims and their various organizations, and this organization shall in a way be able to act¹ as a federal agency amongst these various groups.

This organization shall be named as the All-India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat and shall hereinafter be referred to as 'Majlis-e-Mushawarat'(MM)². It was decided that the central office of the MM shall be in Delhi or at any other place considered suitable by the Executive of the³ organization.

The aims and objectives of the organization, as⁴ described in the Constitution, are as follows:-

-
1. The New Constitution of the All-India MMM(New Delhi: 231, Easti Nizamuddin, November, 1968), pp. 2-3.
 2. Article 1.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Article 2.

- (a) To ensure that the Muslims (of India) live in accordance with the ideals of Islam and to participate in the social and national issues in a manner befitting the status of a chosen community (Khair-e-Ummat)⁵.
- (b) To bring together the various Muslim parties involved in the welfare and improvement of the conditions of the Muslim community and the nation.⁶
- (c) To adopt steps necessary for removing communal and functional prejudices as well as to provide relief to the victims (of communal oppression).⁷
- (d) To attempt to promote better understanding and unity amongst the various religious and sectarian groups.⁸
- (e) To ensure a more concrete implementation of the secular and impartial nature of the Indian Constitution by mobilising the support of all sections in this direction and, thus, exerting pressure on the Government.⁹

5. Article 2, Section 2.

6. Ibid.

7. Article 2, Section 3.

8. Ibid., Section 4.

9. Ibid., Section 5.

- (f) To prepare the Muslims to participate whole-heartedly¹⁰
 in the common as well as national problems, and
 to undertake steps necessary for the achievement of¹¹
 the above stated objectives. Membership is open to¹²
 those representatives of the "parties", which agree
 with the aims and objectives of the Majlis-e-Mushawarat
 and are involved in the MMM.

Primary members shall be those persons selected at
 the Lucknow Convention of August 8 - 9, 1964, to advise the
 President on the question of the composition of the Executive
 of the MMM except those, who have resigned or have passed
 away.¹³

Organization

The "New Constitution" defines "parties":

"Those organizations, which have national or
 provincial character, and which have expressed their
 faith in the aims and objectives of the MM and have¹⁴
 expressed their willingness to become its member."

10. Ibid., Section 6.

11. Ibid., Section 7.

12. Article 3, Section 1.

13. Ibid., Section 2.

14. Article 4, Section 1.

Five representatives from every national body (party) and two from every provincial body shall be members of the central (Executive) of the MM.¹⁵

These members shall not be counted with the primary members. Each body shall enjoy the powers to nominate its own representatives.¹⁶

The representatives of the various intellectual forums, and the renowned scholars, who have accepted the aims and objectives of the MM shall be 21.¹⁷

The primary members shall enjoy the right to organise the new MM within two months of the implementation of the New Constitution. The acceptance of the membership of the various national and provincial bodies and the various forums as well as scholars should be given by the Primary members as provided in Article 4, Section 3.¹⁸

If there is any vacancy after the organisational set-up of the MM, and the vacancy belongs to the quota fixed to a party, then the concerned party should nominate its member, and if the vacancy is from renowned individual

15. Ibid., Section 2.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., Section 3.

18. Ibid., Section 4.

quota, the President shall have the right of nomination¹⁹
in consultation with the Executive Committee of the MM.

²⁰
The Primary members shall also enjoy the right to
decide whether a party is national or provincial in
²¹
character.

The tenure of the members of the central MM shall be
for a period of three years; after the expiry of three
years term, a new MM shall be constituted by the Executive
²²
Committee.

²³
The MM was to have the following organs:-

- (i) The central Majlis-e-Mushawarat.
- (ii) The central Executive Committee.
- (iii) The provincial MM.
- (iv) The provincial Executive Committee.

19. Ibid., Section 5.

20. Article 1(a) Appendix: (1) Dr. S. Mahmud(expired),
(ii) Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, (iii) Maulana
Abul Lais Islahi, (iv) Mohammad Ismail(expired), (v) Maulana
Mufti Atiqur Rehman Usmani, (vi) Mulla Jan Mohammad
(expired), (vii) Ibrahim Sulaiman Sait, and (viii) Mohd.
Muslim. See also Article 2(b) Appendix: The office
bearers in August 1968 were: (1) Maulana Mufti Atiq-ur-
Rehman Usmani (President and Treasurer); (2) Ibrahim
Sulaiman Sait (General Secretary); (3) Syed Mazhar Imam
(Secretary); and (4) Mohammad Shafiq-ur-Rehman (Joint
Secretary).

21. Article 4, Section 5.

22. Ibid., Section 7.

23. Article 5, Section 1.

The MM shall meet, at least, twice a year and the
Executive shall decide their date and venue.²⁴

The Executive may convene extra-ordinary meetings of
the MM whenever necessary.²⁵

The President shall be obliged to convene an extra-
ordinary meeting of the MM if a written demand for the same
is made by ten members of the MM.²⁶

The President shall enjoy the right to invite a
non-member to attend a meeting of the MM. Such a special
invitee will, however, not have the right to vote.²⁷

The MM shall enjoy the following rights:-

- (i) Selection of the office-bearers.²⁸
 - (ii) Consideration of immediate issues in accordance with
the aims and objectives.²⁹
 - (iii) Formation of the policy and the programme of the MM.³⁰
 - (iv) Consideration of the reports of the Secretary.³¹
-

24. Article 6, Section 1.

25. Article 6(a), Section 2.

26. Ibid., Section 3.

27. Ibid., Section 4.

28. Article 6(b), Section 1.

29. Ibid., Section 2.

30. Ibid., Section 3.

31. Ibid., Section 4.

- (v) Approval of the budget of the MM.³²
- (vi) Appointment of special standing committees in order³³
to make the working of the MM more effective.
- (vii) Removal of the office-bearers of the MM.³⁴

The office bearers of the MM shall be as follows:-

- (i) President (one)³⁵
- (ii) Vice-President (Two)³⁶
- (iii) Secretary (One)³⁷
- (iv) Joint Secretary (Two)³⁸
- (v) Treasurer (One)³⁹

The MM shall elect the office-bearers.⁴⁰ The tenure of the office-bearers shall be three years. Those office-bearers working at the time of the implementation of the amended Constitution shall continue to work until the MM⁴¹ elects its new office bearers.

32. Ibid., Section 5.

33. Ibid., Section 6.

34. Ibid., Section 7.

35. Article 7(a), Section 1.

36. Ibid., Section 2.

37. Ibid., Section 3.

38. Ibid., Section 4.

39. Ibid., Section 5.

40. Article 7(b), Section 1.

41. Ibid., Section 2.

The Central Executive Committee shall have an Executive comprising of twenty-one members, which shall include the office-bearers of the MM. The other members of the Executive shall be nominated by the President, who shall keep in view the need for the representation of all member - bodies
42
and forums.

The tenure of the Executive shall be for a period of three years. It shall continue to function until the
43
formation of the new Executive.

The Executive shall meet, at least, four times in a year. However, the President himself, or on the request of five members of the Executive, convene an emergent meeting
44
of the Executive.

The President shall enjoy the right to invite any member of the MM apart from the member of the Central
45
Executive (to attend such a meeting of the above body).

Rights and Duties of the Central Executive

The duties of the Central Executive shall be as follows:-

42. Article 8(a), Section 1.
43. Ibid., Section 2.
44. Ibid., Section 3.
45. Ibid., Section 4.

- (i) To implement the aims and objectives of the MM as
laid down in Article 2 of the Constitution. ⁴⁶
- (ii) To enforce the decisions of the MM. ⁴⁷
- (iii) To organize and to supervise the work of the MM. ⁴⁸
- (iv) To look after the finance of the MM. ⁴⁹
- (v) The Central Executive Committee shall enjoy the power
to take disciplinary action against any provincial
branch or any member of the MM and its decision shall
be final. ⁵⁰

Organisation of the Provincial MM

Every State and the Union territory shall have a provincial branch of the MM, which shall be known as 'Provincial MM' and which will be referred in this Constitution as 'Provincial MM'. The Provincial MM shall be organized on the pattern of the Central MM. It will have various
⁵¹
bodies, forums and distinguished Muslims.

The membership of the Provincial MM shall not exceed
⁵²
more than 51.

The following shall be the office-bearers of the
⁵³
Provincial MM:-

-
- 46. Article 9, Section 1.
 - 47. Ibid., Section 2.
 - 48. Ibid., Section 3.
 - 49. Ibid., Section 4.
 - 50. Ibid., Section 5.
 - 51. Article 10, Section 1.
 - 52. Ibid.
 - 53. Ibid., Section 2.

- (i) President (One)
- (ii) Vice-President (Two)
- (iii) Secretary (One)
- (iv) Joint Secretary (Two)
- (v) Treasurer (One).

The (above mentioned) office-bearers shall be elected⁵⁴
by the members of the Provincial MM.

Note:- An ad hoc committee shall be appointed by the
Central Executive where, at present, there exists
no branch of the MM, which^{will} organise the Provincial
MM in accordance with the Constitution.⁵⁵

The Provincial MM shall have an Executive Committee
comprising of twenty-one members including the office-
bearers. They shall be nominated by the President (of the
Provincial MM) in accordance with the procedure laid down⁵⁶
by the Central Executive Committee.

The President shall enjoy the right to call the
meeting of the Provincial MM according to need. However,⁵⁷
the Provincial MM shall meet, at least, twice a year.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., Section 3.

57. Ibid., section 4.

The member of the Central Executive shall be the
 58
 member of the Provincial MM of the respective States.

Rights and Duties of the Provincial MM

The rights of the Provincial MM shall be as follows:-

To consider all the regional issues, keeping in view
 59
 of the aims and the objectives of the MM and to chalk out
 the programme accordingly.

To implement the policy and the programme of the MM. 60

To sanction the budget of the MM. 61

The Provincial MM shall perform its duties in
 accordance with the directions of the Central President and
 62
 the Central Executive.

To consider the reports of the Secretary; to send the
 report (of the Secretary) and the proceedings of the meetings
 63
 to the President (Central Committee) for approval.

58. Ibid., Section 5.

59. Article 11, Section 1.

60. Ibid., Section 2.

61. Article 11(a), Section 3.

62. Article 11(b)

63. Article 11(c)

Rights and Duties of the Provincial Executive

- (i) To implement the decisions of the Provincial MM. ⁶⁴
- (ii) To organise and to supervise the working of the ⁶⁵
Provincial MM.
- (iii) To supervise the finance of the Provincial MM. ⁶⁶

Quorum

The quorum shall be 1/4th of the total membership. ⁶⁷

Decision-Making Process

Every effort shall be made to reach unanimous decision by the Majlis. Every member and the representative body of the Majlis shall try to implement the decisions with full responsibilities and attention. Any member or any representative body, who have any difference with any unanimous decision due to their ideology, will have no responsibility to implement them. However, they will be ⁶⁸
expected not to make their differences public.

There is no need for having a quorum for an adjourned meeting. The President of the meeting whenever he desire ⁶⁹
can call the adjourned meeting.

64. Article 12, Section 1.
 65. Ibid., Section 2.
 66. Ibid., Section 3.
 67. Article 13, Section 1.
 68. Ibid.
 69. Article 13, Section 2.

Income of the Majlis

The financial resources of the Majlis are as follows:-

- Rs.100/- p.a. shall be paid by every all-India level
70
body as its membership.
- Rs. 50/-/shall be paid by every Provincial body. 71
p.a.
- Rs. 10/- p.a. shall be paid by other members as
72
fee for membership.
- Donation from the Provincial branches (of the MM). 73
74
- Special donations.
- Rs. 100/- p.a. (shall be paid) by the Provincial
75
branches of the MM.

Amendment in the Constitution

The Central MM shall enjoy the powers to amend the
76
Constitution. But for this purpose, proper written notice
will be issued and its agenda will be sent to the members,
77
least, fifteen days before the commencement of the meeting.

Every amendment shall be deemed to have been passed if
the 2/3rd number of the total members (of the MM) are present
in the meeting, and 2/3rd of those, who are present, vote
78
affirmatively for the proposed amendment.

70. Article 14, Section 1.

71. Ibid., Section 2.

72. Ibid., Section 3.

73. Ibid., Section 4.

74. Ibid., Section 5.

75. Ibid., Section 6.

76. Article 15, Section 1.

77. Ibid., Section 2.

78. Ibid., Section 3.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It is an irony of the Fate that after the 1967 General Elections, the MMM turned out to be a, more or less, defunct organization, and could not fulfill the aspirations of the Indian Muslims. The failure of the initial 'Majlis' strategy to achieve concrete benefits for Muslims in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (where the MMM had the greatest response) had different consequences in the two States. In Bihar, the Majlis became defunct. In September, 1970, in Bihar, a new organization was formed called the 'Awami Tanzim', which became a constituent of the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, but it had been even less effective than the original unit of the MMM in that State. In Uttar Pradesh, the Majlis took a different course. Continuing under the leadership of Dr. Abdul Jalil Faridi, the U.P. Unit transformed itself in June, 1969, into a political party, called the U.P. "Muslim Majlis", which contested in 1969 mid-term poll to the Legislative Assembly and formed alliances with other minority candidates in some constituencies

The MMM could play no effective role in the Indian political life nor in ensuring communal harmony. It had, no

1. Radiance Views Weekly (Delhi), September 27, 1970.

2. A.J. Faridi, 'Judge Us by Our Policies', Radiance, March 7, 1971, p. 9.

doubt, taken up many problems of Indian Muslims and, no doubt, it kept them alive. It passed many resolutions on current and Muslim problems i.e. restoration of the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University, promotion of Urdu, preservation of Personal Law, communal riots, etc. and urged the Government to solve them. In 1972, when the AMU Amendment Bill was hurriedly passed by the Parliament without consulting the Muslim community, the MMM organized meetings to protest against it and created a great momentum on this issue.

In 1974, the leaders of the MMM firmly resolved to revive the MMM and a meeting in this connection was called. The meeting was held on March 10 and 11, 1974, at Delhi, with great hopes and determination. In this meeting, the MMM General Secretary, late Mohammad Yousuf Siddiqui, presented his Report, in which he took an account of the circumstances, in which the MMM was formed in 1964 and the role it subsequently played. He, however, admitted that the prestige of the MMM had fallen and its unity shattered due to electioneering; although it did not take part in elections, it had supported those candidates, who had agreed with the 'nine points' of Manifesto of the MMM.

3. Report, presented by Mohammad Yousuf Siddiqui (deceased), the then General Secretary, at the meeting of the All-India Majlis-e-Mushawarat held on March 10, 1974, at Delhi, pp. 1-3.

4. Ibid., p. 6.

The Secretary said that the Muslims, particularly the young educated Muslims of the new generation, had become more realistic in their views, and convinced that agitational politics could not provide a solution of the problems of the Indian Muslims and that the MMM could not solve any problem, while the agitational policies confused the whole Muslim community.⁵

The Secretary said that young men of the community were thinking that the Muslim Millat was suffering due to her disintegration, social, economic and educational backwardness and without solving them, the Muslim Millat could not be saved from frustration.⁶

For this purpose, he observed, there should be some concrete programme and it was their duty to chalk out such a programme for Muslims to remove their backwardness.⁷

In this meeting three articles on educational, social and economic backwardness of the Indian Muslims were read. In these articles, the scholars took an account of the backwardness of the Muslims and proposed many valuable suggestions.⁸

5. Ibid., p. 7.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Dawat, March 12, 1974.

After serious deliberations and discussions a number of constructive resolutions were passed. Some of the important decisions were as follows:-

- "Establishment of an economic Board for the economic uplift of the Muslims;
- Restoration of the minority character of the Aligarh Muslim University;
- Removal of objectionable materials from school textbooks;
- Preservation of the Muslim Personal Law, etc."⁹

In this meeting, it was generally felt that the MMM should concentrate its attention on the socio-economic welfare and development of the Muslims and avoid agitational politics.¹⁰ It was also agreed that the MMM should strive to be a dynamic and stable organisation so as to play an effective role in Indian life and guide and uplift the Muslims in various ways. For this purpose a committee was¹¹ set up for the reorganization and vitalization of the MMM. The Committee suggested that:-

- (1) There should be a permanent office for the MMM and a whole-time Office Secretary.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

- (2) A Joint Secretary should be provided by each All-India level organization on their own expense.
- (3) The whole country should be divided into zones at the number of the Joint Secretaries. And each zone should be handed over to one Joint Secretary.
- (4) A budget should be prepared for visits and office expenses and all the members of the Council should provide funds themselves or through their respective organizations whom they belonged.
- (5) A Code of Conduct should be prepared and all the bodies or individuals who joined the MMM should abide by it.
- (6) An all India Economic Seminar was proposed to remove the backwardness of the Muslims.
- (7) An all India Seminar for educational backwardness.
- (8) It was also proposed that visits to be arranged on the large scale and the persons who were agreed with the aims and objectives of the MMM should be
12
prepared for achieving the aims.

The meeting dispensed with firm determination to revive the MMM. It was also firmly resolved that the MMM had to play a decent role in bringing the different communities,

particularly the Hindus and the Muslims together and a
 13
 sense of friendship and amity between the two.

It was a serious and sincere effort to reorganize the MMM to make it an effective instrument for the solution of the problems of the Indian Muslims and to play a constructive role in Indian life, but it failed. The resolutions were not followed by the requisite efforts, in letter and spirit. The decisions, which were taken at the meeting remained unimplemented; the demands, which were raised so vociferously, went unheeded. The resolutions passed and the decisions taken but adorned the files and columns of newspapers. They might have had some impact upon the Muslim community but, in fact, otherwise, they had no value or effect. Notwithstanding its inactiveness, the MMM did some useful role. It articulated the demands of the Muslims, presented to the Government and urged it to solve them. It also made sincere efforts to assemble different Muslim parties and individuals on a common platform adopting a common programme and strategy so that the Government could be pressurised to solve Muslim's problems. It, too, worked for peace, amity and friendship among various communities of the country, particularly, Hindus and Muslims. It toured the riot-affected areas, tried to pacify the two communities, and urged the authorities to maintain peace and safeguard

life, liberty and property and to be firm in dealing miscreant and anti-social elements. It also strived to mobilise public opinion against the recurrence of communal violence through its resolutions, meetings and gatherings. It, above all, helped to restore confidence among the Muslims by inculcating in them faith in God and trust in the bona fides of the secular forces working for a democratic set-up in the country.

As a matter of fact, the MMM emerged as a common Muslim platform, representing nearly all the major Muslim parties and influential individuals at a critical time, while the Muslims were feeling hopeless and helpless and formulated the demands of the Indian Muslims and tried to be a guidance centre for the Muslims. Whatever it did in this context can not be ignored. But what a pity that the organization, which was established with great hopes and expectations, and which could assemble people of different shades of opinions on one platform for the sake of some common aims and objectives, could not provide a strong and stable platform, nor could it pressurise the Government to fulfil the demands of the Indian Muslims. Gradually, it became a defunct body due to the following reasons:-

1. Federal character of the organization.
2. Lack of dynamic and bold leadership.
3. Break-up of the organizational set up in two States.

The MMM had a federal set-up representing major Muslim political and non-political parties i.e., the Muslim League, the Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Hind, the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, etc. and independent personalities like Maulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, Maulana Manzoor Nomani, Dr. A.J. Faridi, Dr. Syed Mahmud, etc. They had joined the MMM with their group or party loyalties intact and could not transcend group/party considerations. This, sometimes, led to mutual bickerings, even mistrust. For example, in 1967, when the MMM indirectly participated in the elections, the Jamaat-e-Islami leaders opposed it as they were in principle against participation¹⁴ in party and electoral activity and people like Dr. S. Mahmud, a great nationalist and veteran Congressman, expressed his dissatisfaction over the decision of the U.P. Unit of the¹⁵ Majlis for not supporting the Congress in the State, while Dr. A.J. Faridi insisted on it. The members of the Congress-oriented Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind led by Maulana Asad Madni¹⁶ followed a different policy in the initial stage it withdrew its support while Mufti Atiqur-Rehman's faction of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind continued to support the MMM.

No wonder that after the 1967 elections unity itself proved to be illusory. Differences on purposes and political

14. Radiance, December 25, 1966. In spite of this, they continued to support through their Press organs.

15. See Chapter III.

16. Ibid.

strategy developed almost immediately. Broadly speaking, there were three main elements comprising the MMM - individual Muslim politicians like Dr. A.J. Faridi; the 'fundamentalist' Jamaat-e-Islami, and 'nationalist' Muslims like Dr. Syed Mahmud, who were members either of the Congress or of the Congress-oriented Jamiat-ul-Ulema. Everyone had different views and ideas about policy and programme of the MMM and wanted to drive it according to its group attachment.

The second factor responsible for the failure of the MMM was lack of dynamic and bold leadership. Leadership is the backbone of every organisation. The MMM lacked a powerful or towering personality, which could make the organization dynamic and hold its constituents together. The MMM passed resolutions on a number of issues, but they could not be implemented because of weak leadership ineffective organization. In the initial stages, the leadership of Dr. Syed Mahmud proved to be a source of strength, he had a respectable position in the Government's circles as well as in public and he tried to guide the MMM but he could not weld the diverse elements together in a well-knit organisation. Controversies started in his time over certain issues and he was very unhappy at the time of the general elections of 1967. After him Mufti Atiq-ur-Rehman, too, failed to provide the much-needed dynamism and strength to the MMM.

It would, however, not be fair to lay all the blame ^{is} on the leaders. But the groups or parties or individual ~~went,~~ also responsible for the failings of the MMM. But if the MMM had had a more dynamic and younger leadership, perhaps, the federal set-up of the organization would not have stood in the way of its becoming a force in national politics.

The third factor was the breaking up of the organizational set-up in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar where the MMM had had the greatest response. In Bihar, the Majlis became defunct and a new organization, 'Awami Tanzim' was formed, which became a constituent of the All-India MMM, but it proved to be even less effective than the original unit of the MMM. In U.P. under the leadership of Dr. A.J. Faridi, the whole Unit of the MMM transformed itself into a political party. This was a great blow and the MMM could not recover from it. Moreover, the organization had no permanent office or a fund of its own. From the very beginning the office was either with the President or the General Secretary. In 1974, it was decided to have a permanent office and a fund. But it has not yet a permanent office or fund. ¹¹⁷

-
17. In 1978, when I traced the office of the MMM, from where I could collect the material, I found some boxes with papers in one room of the Radiance building. It was with the late Mohammad Yousuf Siddiqui, the then General Secretary of the MMM. I found some cyclo-styled material in the office of the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind. No doubt, the Jamaat did enough to strengthen the MMM through men and material and its Press organs, particularly the Daily Dawat and the Radiance introduced and popularised the MMM. For this, the Jamaat was allegedly blamed that it had controlled the MMM.

The MMM has, however, survived the vicissitudes of times but it is hardly a living organization.

ALL INDIA MUSLIM CONSULTATIVE CONVENTION, LUCKNOW
(August 8 - 9, 1964)

WELCOME ADDRESS

by
Maulana Syed Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi

—
IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE MOST BENEVOLENT,
THE MOST MERCIFUL

Leaders of the Millat and Respected Friends,

First of all, I bow my head in gratitude to the Almighty that He, in His Infinite Mercy, granted us the good fortune to get together at this critical hour in order to ponder collectively over the fundamental needs and problems of the great Indian Muslim Community, to seek unitedly how best these needs and problems can be solved and to make the beginning of our joint endeavour towards their solution. I say once again that it is only by the Grace of the Lord that the calling up of this Convention has been possible. Mere urgency of the situation was not enough, the seriousness of the problems that confront us, the question of life and death that is staring the Millat in the face today can alone not be said to have made this auspicious step inevitable. For in the long and chequered history of the Millat, while there are available glorious examples of unity and co-operation, of self-abnegation and sacrifice and of the giving up of individual gains and interests for the sake of the collective good, such instances also are not lacking when during the most testing times the leaders of the Millat failed dismally to place the supremely vital interests of the community over and above

their group loyalties and prejudices: they could simply not bring themselves to join hands with each other and make a gallant bid to save the Millat at the sacrifice of the selfish demands and expediences of their own individual groups or parties.

At the moment, the eyes not only of Muslims but of all educated and intelligent men in the country are turned towards this Convention of ours. They all want to see how far you, who form really the cream of Indian Muslims, and, in the inimitable phrase of Jesus, "the salt of the earth", can go on this occasion by way of forging unity and the spirit of co-operation among yourselves and subordinating your group and party interests to the larger interests of the community. The historian of the future is waiting for your decision, he is watching your conduct closely to determine whether he can turn a new leaf and begin a new era. More, we are functioning here in the presence of the Almighty who sees all that passes in our hearts and from whom nothing is or can be concealed. During the entire proceedings of this Convention we must not for a moment forget that God, the All-Knowing, the All-Wise, is watching us. What we have to guard ourselves against more particularly is dissension and disunity, group-vanty and party-prejudice, and the spirit of competition and mutual rivalry. May Allah protect ourselves from our petty urges and ambitions and from the debasing weaknesses of our hearts.

1

Gentlemen, there live five crores of Muslims in India. The secular Constitution of the country has conferred on them equality of citizenship and guaranteed to them all those rights and privileges that are enjoyed by the free and respectable citizen's in a free and democratic Republic. Their decision to live in India and to make it their home has legally, morally, politically and constitutionally entitled them to all the rights, benefits and liberties, which can be claimed by any other citizens of the country. Numerically, they are stronger than the whole populations of many a country. They constitute the third largest Muslim population in the world. After the Muslim countries of Indonesia and Pakistan, India has the largest number of Muslims living within it. Apart from their numerical strength, the Indian Muslims occupy a place of distinction in the Islamic World by virtue of their various intellectual and moral qualities and in some respects they are superior to all other Muslim communities living in it. They are capable of lending help and guidance to free and independent Muslim countries in many fields of intellectual and literary endeavour. In India, too, they are distinguished as compared to the majority or any other community so far as their diverse Islamic, practical, administrative and intellectual

-
1. The representatives of the Government of India have on certain international occasions given out their figure as 6 crores.

capabilities are concerned. Thanks to the creed of Monotheism, Islamic ethics, the Islamic concepts of social justice and equity, large-heartedness and liberality of outlook and that fundamental attitude with regard to the universe the brotherhood of man, and the worth and sacrosance of human life, which Islam has bestowed upon them, they possess greater creative spirit and the capacity to cooperate and to live according to the principle of give and take than the others - and these qualities have contributed a great deal towards making them more tolerant, more humane, more earnestly devoted to the welfare of all mankind and endued them with greater feeling of gratitude and patriotism. They initiated the struggle for national freedom, and took a leading part in it and their sacrifices, on the whole, in the course of it, were greater than those of any other community, if one judged them in proportion to their numerical positions. They form a vital part of at least the second largest religious fraternity of the world, which is spread all over the globe and commands a predominant position in the two great continents of Asia and Africa, and which holds undivided sway over the universally important and strategic area of the Middle East. Indian Muslims can prove to be the ideal means for the establishment and maintenance of the friendliest of relations with countries lying in these parts of the world. In fact, the wise and far-sighted Asian leadership which succeeds in winning the confidence and trust of this fraternity

is bound emphatically to emerge as the greatest power of the East.

In view of these self-evident truths Muslims in India should have been enjoying in practice all the rights and opportunities which are theirs in principle so far as the law and the Constitution of the land are concerned, the notions of majority and minority would have dis-appeared from the Indian mind and everyone would have begun to be regarded as an Indian and nothing more and nothing less than this. Any kind of discrimination against a Muslim, were these facts to be given proper consideration, would be treated as a most grievous national crime and his life and honour held more sacred than the places of worship and a far more valuable national asset than the historic caves of Ajanta and Ellora; the security of the life of the most wretched and miserable Indian Muslim would be regarded as more important than the reverence and preservation of thousands of sacred animals and lakhs of sacred trees and dozens of sacred rivers; the legacy of communal riots left behind by the British Imperialist, would be a story of the past so much so that the newer generations, which had opened their eyes after the dawn of Independence in 1947 would find it hard to believe that such shameful and beastly things could have been possible in their country in the past; aggression against a Muslim on religious or communal grounds would have

the entire machinery of the state into motion and deterrent punishment would be meted out to the guilty; Muslims would be trusted with the highest responsibilities - key-posts in the Police Force, the Army and the administration of the country would be given to them; their religious education, their Personal Law and their culture would not only be secure but full opportunities for their promotion would be made available to them as part of national heritage so that there could never arise an occasion for any one among them to feel that as regards his religious instruction, Personal Law or culture the dark and humiliating period of British rule was better for him; even at the moment of his greatest mental frustration and despondency, for a Muslim to prefer the days of national bondage to the post-freedom era would be held to be a proof of the colossal failure of democracy and an insult to the struggle for India's freedom and to the memory of the thousands of brave and selfless soldiers that had taken part in it. If things come to such a pass that from the point of view of religious freedom, there cropped up in the farthest corner of a Muslim's mind the idea that the days of slavery were more tolerable than the days of freedom, the self-apparent truths I have enumerated above should have served as a sufficient reason to persuade the leaders of the country to undertake a fast-unto-death in the tradition of Mahatma Gandhi and to make the highest man here hang his head with shame, and even a minor incident of

injustice against a Muslim, perpetrated on him because of his religion or community, would be inquired into promptly by the Government.

As far as the aims and objects of the united struggle for freedom and the dedication and the pronouncements of its leaders are concerned, in which both Hindus and Muslims had an equal share, and, more particularly, so far as the philosophy programme and history of the greatest political organisation and movement of the 20th century, the Indian National Congress and the hopes, aspirations and declarations of its front-rank guides and campaigns go, India should have been so sensitive in the matter of these ugly and unfortunate occurrences which, since 1947, have become an every day affair in our national life that it could not tolerate them even for a moment, and, so far as the ideas and feelings of Gandhiji are concerned, it can be said confidently that these happenings would have disturbed him so much that he would have set forth on his journey afresh assuming the destination of freedom as still unreachd and begun again probably from where he had started on his return from South Africa. The great leader on whose mind the incident of Chauri Chaura had made such a painful impression that he had withdrawn the movement of 1921 as a result of it would surely not have hesitated in proclaiming to the world that the communal riots and the violation of the rights of the minorities and the feeling of insecurity that has got created among certain sections of our population with regard to their linguistic and cultural rights and

aspirations are an ample demonstration of the fact that freedom has come to us a little too early and eager as the country was for political emancipation the nation, on the whole was unfortunately not mentally and politically equipped for it, and, therefore, the primary need of the hour was the creation of a new people with an awakened moral and human consciousness, a greater political maturity and a wider mental outlook. He would, undoubtedly, have concentrated all his tremendous energies and capabilities on this task and thrown the entire weight of his powerful personality towards this end and also pressed into service for this lofty cause selected men of worth and eminence in the country. By laying down his life in the path of Hindu-Muslim unity Gandhiji has proclaimed the importance and urgency of the problem and indicated to all moral and political leaders of India that this is the front on which all the forces they can muster need be concentrated for on it will be decided finally the battle of India's future existence and progress.

For the last 17 years this sorry state of affairs has been prevailing in India. There can absolutely be no political, moral or legal justification for it. It is extremely disgraceful for India, a source of its boundless shame before the world and utterly detrimental to its all-sided advancement and the growth of an overall atmosphere of integration and confidence. It has misdirected many of its newly-awakened energies and national fervour into destructive channels and

produced in the country an environment of fear, suspicion and hate which can do nothing but harm to the country particularly at a time like this when it is harrassed by so many other problems both internally and externally. Further, it is having a highly undesirable effect on a powerful minority which is 50 to 60 million strong, and which, on the one hand, is full of human potentialities, and, on the other, in possession ties of faith and blood with our closest and most important neighbour, Pakistan, and, thus, can play a decisive role in the shaping of our relations with her. Because of the persistent outbreaks communal madness of insane killings, loot and arson, and because of the feeling of linguistic and cultural insecurity that has got created within it, this largest minority of the country is sinking fast into the abyss of despondency and frustration. Day byday, it is getting dis-illusioned baffled, and dejected, and losing faith in its future. Its energies are going to waste. However, much one may criticise and condemn its mental and psychological condition on logical grounds, it is obvious that the circumstances, in which the Muslim community is at present placed - the terrible experiences of the worthlessness of its life and property, it has been endlessly going through, the ease and unconcern with which any slogan, any false news, any concocted story and any newspaper headline can throw it into the whirlpool of death and destruction, the way it has been

brought home to it repeatedly that its fate, after all, is not dependent on what it does but the misdeeds of the people of a foreign country or even a report of their misdeeds is enough to lead it to the slaughter-house and that even if every single member of it became a saint and patriot of the highest order a wrong action by the neighbouring country is enough to immerse it in a pool of blood - and, then, the additional knowledge of the fact that the Government, too sometimes proves incapable of assuring its protection, the administrative machinery takes a lot of time to move into the top-gear in the discharge of its function in this regard, and the most fearful of riots are not considered worthy of an official enquiry, and none of the real mischief-makers is ever punished, no punitive tax is ever imposed on a riot-stricken area, no action is taken against guilty or irresponsible police or other administrative officers - and, what is more, if the information of some of our Muslim friends is correct such officers are not unoften awarded promotion and raised to a higher grade of service, such a minority cannot, in fairness and justice, be taken to task if it loses its heart and gives way to bitterness and despair. The most legitimate demand of Muslim for the recognition of Urdu as a regional language and for the genuine secularisation of education and expulsion from it of all features that represent the aggressive revivalism of the majority community has not yet been openly and unreservedly conceded. The State

Governments have stubbornly kept these issues hanging merely to please the voters and because they do not have the courage to annoy the communalists however unjust and reactionary their stand may be. These things, ostensibly, are enough to produce in any minority an all-pervading sense of injustice and discrimination. Only a dead and soulless mechanism can be expected to remain removed and unaffected in these circumstances. And Muslims are neither dead nor soulless. The net result of all this is that the energies of Muslims are being unnecessarily sapped. A community of 5 to 6 crores can be a most valuable asset to any country. It can change its destiny and wield a decisive influence on world affairs. But here the Muslims are being left to rot. Their vitality and their potentialities are doing no good either to themselves or to the country as a whole. I will go a step ahead and say that narrow-mindedness, communal intolerance, and revivalism are not only not permitting the energies of Muslims to have a full play but of the whole of the country as well. Thanks to them it has not yet been possible to take the task of national reconstruction and of the proper evolution and training of the moral and political consciousness of the masses seriously in hand. The finest energies and capabilities of the nation are being spent in cutting each-other's throats, in political intrigue and in the tussle for power. The ulcer of immorality and corruption is increasing day by day. The food crisis is deepening. The crying need of the hour

is that an atmosphere of unity and co-operation is created in the country, the fascist forces are crushed and the confidence of the minorities is restored so that no one feels insecure in matters of his life, property and honour. No group or party, however, strong should be allowed to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the land. The Government should always be ready to face the greatest risks for the implementation of the aims and objects of the Indian constitution; communal riots must be stopped and no excuses should be sought to justify them or to cover their injustice and ugliness. Muslims should be given an adequate representation in public services and they should have full freedom and opportunity to develop and prosper according to their merit and industry and there should be left no misgivings in their heart about the security of their language, culture, religious education and personal law. The entire educational structure, from top to bottom, the press, the radio and all other mediums of publicity should be employed to promote communal peace and harmony. A powerful movement should be launched for fighting the views of communalism at its roots and transforming the very thinking of our people in this respect.

Lack of proper leadership among Muslims since 1947, their inner confusion and disunity and the feeling of inferiority they have sadly acquired during these years, did not point them to prepare and present their case unitedly

before the bar of public opinion and the Government. Worse still due to our certain moral weaknesses, and rank selfishness and opportunism of some elements within us, we quite often gave the false impression that all was well with us in the country and no injustice or discrimination was being practised against us. Nothing, indeed could be further from truth than this. Such statements are not only shameful and degrading but also amount to an utter disservice to the country, for they tend to create a deceptive feeling of self-complacency in the Government and the majority community and encourages them to believe that what they are doing is perfectly correct and adequate and there is no need for introspection or improvement. No democracy can thrive in the midst of such hypocrisy and sycophancy.

We, firmly and clearly, declare that in many respects, the Muslims in India are discontented, they have many just and legitimate grievances and they are passing through a most critical period of their history. But we have lost faith neither in the mercy of God, nor in our own strength and ability to live, nor in the destiny of India, nor in the future of democracy, nor in the spirit of our Constitution. We have resolved to live here and nowhere else, and to tell you the honest truth, when I speak these words before you my own conscience pricks me. It pricks because what, after all, does this resolution of living in India mean? What can it mean? Weren't we born here? Have we not been

living here for a thousand years? Is not our existence a greater reality and far more enduring than the Himalayas or the Ganges? We are older than the Qutub Minar and the Taj Mahal and our claim on India is stronger than of these monuments, which we ourselves gave to the motherland. They owe their existence to us. We must and we shall solve all the problems and difficulties that are plaguing the country today. We are an inseparable part of Indian nationality. Indian culture, and Indian civilisation. We will complain and protest a thousand times; we get angry and we will forgive and forget and be friends again. We can take every Indian to task as we give every other Indian the right to take us to task for our follies and errors in any case, we have got to live in this country and with all our distinctive attributes and characteristics. And we are confident that it will be possible for us to do so. The clouds that darken the horizon today will ultimately disappear. Communal peace and sanity is bound to return to the land.

While we should place our case with courage and clarity before the Government and the majority community, and formulate our demands precisely and in a clear-cut manner for which guidance will be available to us from the presidential Address, we must also take it upon ourselves to restore courage and confidence among the Muslims by undertaking a country-wide tour for this purpose, and to revive that spirit of peace, co-operation and humanitarianism,

which Islam has blessed them with. We should, strive to arouse them once again to give to India the message of love and faith and selfless service of mankind that Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti and Khwaja Nizamuddin Avlia and hundreds of other Muslim saints and divines that sprang up from its dust have preached and propagated. We should exert ourselves to produce in them the determination and the fortitude to wage a relentless war against the adversity of the existing circumstances believing that India is their home and the home of their ancestors and that they have been chosen for India and India for them by God whose decision is irrevocable and no one in the world can challenge whose will. Instead of drifting away from the currents of national life they should join them and guide them towards the right direction.

Gentlemen, As I have said earlier this convention is being held at the most appropriate time and it could not be delayed by a day. Fortunately, to preside over it we have Dr. Syed Mahmud whose sincerity, experience, and maturity of judgement is acknowledged on all hands. We have full confidence in his integrity, wisdom and devotion to the cause that is dear to our hearts. May the Almighty bless the Convention with success, the expectations the millet has come to entertain in respect of it may, by His Divine Grace be fulfilled and it is given to us to arrive at correct decisions and to take the right steps in the right direction for launching our common endeavour for common aims.

APPENDIX II

A HISTORIC DECISION OF THE ALL-INDIA MUSLIM MAJLIS-E-MUSHAWARAT ABOUT THE FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS

PREFACE

The leaders of Muslim India took an important decision on August 9, 1964, at Lucknow. They resolved to give up weeping and wailing and to work for the restoration of their lost courage, the transformation of their pattern of life and to draw the country out of the morass of mutual conflicts, internal chaos and lack of confidence and to lead it to the goal of real self-confidence and permanent national unity.

Our journey in this direction still continues, and the importance of this decision is growing every day, adding simultaneously to our heavy responsibilities.

The People's Manifesto was only one stage of our journey which still continues. With its help we tried to rekindle in our masses social consciousness and a feeling of responsibility, and have collected a team of onward-looking individuals everywhere whose aims are high and whose social and political consciousness is asserting itself more and more.

No intelligent person can deny the importance of the legislative bodies, nor can the necessity of sending good

people there be doubted by any one. The constructive step taken by the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat in this connection consists in supporting only such candidates as have constructive abilities, and are free from narrow mindedness, communal prejudices and the scourge of sectional favouritism. All such candidates, provided they agree with the Majlis Manifesto and promise to work for it, will be supported by the Majlis.

The voice of the Majlis-e-Mushawarat is the first voice to introduce the people of India to new electoral values in a dark environment at a time when all the parties of the country have got stuck in a morass of party politics and have become victims of communalism, casteism, regionalism and self-centredness. At a time when the political parties are convessing for all their candidates, good or bad, the Majlis pleads for the selection of only those who are true well-wishers of the country and mankind, regardless of the party, religion or community to which they may belong.

The Majlis has in this connection passed a resolution on December 13, 1966, which is given in the following pages. The Majlis hopes that its State Branches will recommend to the Centre names of candidates worthy of our trust in the coming elections in the same spirit of lofty idealism and broadmindedness with which the people of our country have

already worked with zeal for the success of the Peoples' Manifesto.

We are sure that we will, provided the Majlis succeeds in bringing to the Parliament and the State Assemblies trustworthy candidates, be able to play an important role in taking our people out of the present atmosphere of despondence and anarchy.

Dr. Syed Mahmud

President,

All-India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat

Note:-

The Lucknow resolution of August 9, 1964, which was the foundation stone of the Majlis and has been the basis of its activities for the last two years, has also been given on the last page of this pamphlet.

A special meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat has held on December 13, 1966 at 10 a.m. at its Head Office 231, Bgsi Nizamuddin, New Delhi. After day long discussion the Committee arrived at the following conclusions:-

Whereas the 9th of August, 1964 may be considered an important page in the annals of Indian Muslims because on that day Muslim leaders of different shades of opinion brought into practical shape their latent ambition of mutual co-operation, unity, and national integration; the 22nd July, 1966 is likewise a day of special importance in as much as on that day the Muslim leaders, by offering a Peoples Manifesto, attempted to give a turn of reorientation and constructive facet to the over-all Indian politics.

The Muslims of India who for long were helpless spectators, and who were incapable of doing anything except demanding safeguards of their rights, decided on the historic day of 22nd July, 1966, that they would henceforth devote their lives to reform the collective life of their dear homeland; they would share the pain and anguish of the masses; they would propagate their love of peace and Social Welfare; they would usher them-selves out of the limited circle into the wider area (of the mass contact); and thereby try to bring a change into the hearts of the majority (community of India). Towards this end, they approved the famous Nine-Point Manifesto which is now known to well known citizens of the country. The grand manner

in which the Muslim community of India welcomed this Manifesto, and the overwhelming efforts made during the last four or five months to propagate it will be written in red letters in the history of India. It was translated into many languages of the country. Lakhs of copies were circulated and in thousands of public meetings it was declared that Muslims were prepared to work unitedly to revolutionise the days and nights of the country.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat views all these efforts with an eye of satisfaction and offers its thanks to the Almighty Who gifted to a weak community this courage of performance; and they (Muslims) attempted to fulfill this urge of the time with the height of courage and nobility of worth.

The Majlis, notwithstanding, wants to bring forth another aspect of the problem as well that the political parties of the country did not welcome these non-communal and constructive efforts of the Muslims, on the other hand they neglected it generally. The Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat considers this attitude as unhealthy for a collective life for any new democratic State, such a situation would be extremely disgusting that its public associations should over-look the aspirations of any community, big or small, specially when these aspirations are above communalism,

casteism, provincialism, etc, and efforts for the prosperity and well-being of common humanity.

The Majlis is aware of the fact that the enthusiastic zeal required for spreading our message to non-Muslims could not be mustered fully; but still, it is not disappointed. Rather, it is felt that, to whomsoever among the non-Muslims, the message could reach, it was received with enthusiastic approval. As far as the General Election is concerned the Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat definitely avows that election is not among its basic objects for which Indian Muslims should exert the major part of their energy; rather it is necessary to devote themselves on the principal objectives to which the Majlis came into existence. Nevertheless, masses insisted that on the occasion of general election in the country, the Muslim Majlis should give some guidance with regard to the election. The Majlis considers it necessary to remind the Muslims their guiding principles circulated in the People's Manifesto which are as follows:-

(1) The first thing to be remembered in this connection is that the status of the Indian Muslims, although it may have been loweted in practice, because of the behaviour of other people or on account of their own faults, is, still in law and under the Constitution, that of equal partners

in the government of the country, we must always keep in view in all our efforts that howsoever low the Muslims might have fallen due to their own mistakes or the prejudices of others, it is our earnest duty to raise ourselves to the position granted to us by the Indian Constitution and the law of the Land.

(2) Another important point to be kept in view is that whatever decisions the Muslims take must be in full confirmity with their claim of being 'Servants of the People' (Khadim-e-Khalque). They should not only try to find a penacea for their own troubles and misfortunes, but should also try to heal the wounded hearts of the millions of suffering humanity in this country.

(3) Thirdly, they should not forget the fact that there is considerable lack of mutual confidence between the majority and the minority communities. Therefore, no step can be successful unless it finds response in a larger section of the majority communities.

It is in the light of these three guiding principles that we have to think now about Indian Muslims should discharge their responsibility of being partners in government of this country.

The Majlis had certainly promised that after studying

the reactions of the People's Manifesto on Muslims as well as the country at large, the Majlis would advise Muslims as to how they should exercise their right of franchise created in the country by the propagation of the People's Manifesto, and the indifferent attitudes of the Congress and other political parties of the country, the Majlis hereby offers the following advice to Muslims:-

Muslims should, after keeping in view the above three guiding principles, cast their votes in the coming elections in favour of the candidates, irrespective of religion, caste or community without any consideration of their party alliances, who possess the following qualifications :-

- (1) They must be liberal minded, free from religious, communal, provincial and linguistic narrow-mindedness.
- (2) Their political mind and character must confirm to the basic principles of the ideals of peace, democracy and secularism.
- (3) They should consider every citizen of the country as a brother, irrespective of religion or community and caste or creed. They should confirm to the People's Manifesto to a great deal, and must accept its spirit. Such a candidate

would be fully entitled to the votes of Muslims.

The Central Majlis will constitute a small committee to supervise the election affairs.

The Majlis-e-Mushawarat will not set up any candidate, nor shall anybody stand a candidate on behalf of the Majlis.

If any office-bearer of the Majlis stands a candidate, he shall have to resign from the office.

If the workers of the Majlis act after fully understanding the above details, and the State Committees help to send in honest and large-hearted representatives to the Parliament and the Assemblies, it is hoped that a large number of vital problems of the country would be solved by themselves.

IN AUGUST 1964, WE HAD RESOLVED :-

National Integration

This representative convention of Indian Muslims expresses with sorrow that the people of this community have failed in the cause of National Integration and the unity of the country. This convention reminds the Muslims that their aim and object is not only to remove their own difficulties and seek solution of their problems, but the teachings of Islam are that they should do the work with full confidence to remove all the disorders. It is the main reason that this convention requests to our community and others that they should feel their own responsibility to solve this problem and strengthen the National Integration at the cost of their own lives.

The Holy Quran declares to the Muslim a great well-wisher and this duty comes on their shoulder that they should have sympathy for everyone without cast and creed.

The Convention directs the Action Committee to consider ways and means to activate this great cause without delay.

It was the duty of majority that it should gain the confidence of minorities, but it is unfortunate that the

majority has not shown the confidence in Muslim minority. It is further essential for Muslims that they should remove this misunderstanding from the hearts of majority, so that country may achieve the internal peace and may rapidly progress in all respects.

(Resolution passed at Lucknow)

BIBLIOGRAPHY(A) Books and Articles

Abid Husain, Musslman Aaena-i-Ayyam Men, New Delhi, Maktaba Jamia (Undated).

Aziz-ur-Rehman Jamai, Raisur-Ahrar, Moulana Habib-ur-Rehman Ludhianvi Aur Hindustan Ki Jang-e-Aazadi, Delhi, Azizur-Rehman (Undated).

Balraj Madhok, Indian Nationalism, Delhi, S. Chand, 1969.

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, Pathway to Pakistan, Lahore, Longmans, Green and Co., 1961.

H.M. Eliot and John Dowson, The History of India as Told By its Own Historians, Vol. I.

Irfan Habib, National Integration: Medieval Period, Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, 1961.

K.M. Panikar, The Foundations of New India, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1963.

K.M. Munshi, Pilgrimage to Freedom, 1967

Mohammad Raza Khan, What Price Freedom, Madras, Mohammad Raza Khan, 1969

Mohammad Ghouse, Secularism, Society and Law in India, Delhi, Vikas Publishing House, 1973.

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom: An Autobiographical Narrative, New Delhi, Orient Longmans, 1961.

_____, Khutbat-e-Azad, Delhi, Sahitya Academy (Undated)

P.B. Gajendragadkar, The Constitution of India: Its Philosophy and Basic Postulates, London, Oxford University Press, 1969.

Pyarelal, Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase, Vol. II, Ahmedabad, Navjeevan Publishing House, 1958.

Paul R. Brass, Language, Religion and Politics in North India, Delhi, Vikas, 1975.

Rajendrg Prasad, India Divided, Bombay, Hind Kitabs, 1946.

Romila Thapar, Communalism and the Writing of Ancient Indian History, New Delhi, People's Publishing House, 1969.

S.M. Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India, New York, Columbia University Press, 1964.

S. Radhakrishnan, Recovery of Faith, 1955, Religion and Culture, 1968.

Tufail Ahmad, Muslmano Ka Roshan Mustaqbil, Delhi, Kutubkhana-i-Azizia, 1945.

Theodore Wright, 'Muslims as Candidates and Voters in 1967 General Election', Political Science Review, Vol.VIII, No. 1, January-March, 1969, pp. 23-40.

'The Muslim Personal Law Issue in India : An Outsider's View,' Indian Journal of Politics, Vol.IV, 1970, pp. 69-77.

V.D. Savaskar, Hindu Rashtriya Darshan (A Collection of Presidential Speeches Delivered from the Hindu Mahasabha Platform, Bombay, Mahasabha, 1949.

W.H. Morris John, The Government and Politics of India, London, Hutchinson and Company, 1964-67.

Zaheer Masood Qureshi, 'Electoral Strategy of a Minority Pressure Group: The Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat', Asian Survey, Vol. VIII, No. 12, December, 1968, pp. 976-87.

(B) Pamphlets and Pamphlet Collections

1. Alvi, Mohammad Ehteram Ali, Address of welcome,
Lucknow, All India Aligarh Muslim University
Old Boys Convention, 1965.
2. A historic decision of the All India Muslim Majlis-e-
Mushawarat about the forthcoming elections,
New Delhi, All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat
(Undated).
3. Constituent Assembly Debates, 1949.
4. Faridi, Abdul Jalil, Communication: Its Causes and
Cure, Lucknow, 1961.
5. _____, Communal Riots and National Integration,
Lucknow, 1962.
6. _____, Presidential Address, delivered at the District
Conference, Lini Talimi Council, held on
March 21, 1965 at Shahjahanpur (Undated).
7. Jamaat-e-Islami, Introducing the Jamaat-e-Islami Hind,
Delhi, Maktaba Jamaat-e-Islami, Hind, 1959.
8. Mahmud, Syed, Presidential Address, Lucknow, All
India Muslim Consultative Convention, 1964.
9. M.N. Siddiqui, Economic Delapidation of Muslims -
Present Position, Causes and Cure (Urdu); Read
at the General Body Meeting of the Majlis-e-
Mushawarat, Delhi, March 10 and 11, 1974.
10. Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, People's Manifesto,
New Delhi, All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat,
1966.

11. Nadvi, Moulana Syed Hasan Ali, Welcome Address,
Lucknow, All India Muslim Consultative Convention,
1964.
12. Shamsur Rehman Mohsini (Convenor, Social Committee),
Social Awakeness Among Muslims: Problems and their
Solutions (Urdu).
13. Sunderlal, India's National Integration: A New and
Welcome Phase, New Delhi, All India Muslim
Majlis-e-Mushawarat, 1965.
14. The Aligarh Muslim University: Its Past, Present and
Future, Lucknow, All India Aligarh Muslim Universit
Old Boy's Convention, 1965.
15. The New Constitution of the All-India Muslim Majlis-e-
Mushawarat, New Delhi, All India Muslim Majlis-e-
Mushawarat, 1968.
16. Y. Najmuddin and Shabbeer Nuruddin, 12-Point Problems
Under Discussion (Urdu), March, 1974.

(C) Unpublished Papers, Reports and Documents

1. Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, The Birth of MMM and
What It is? (Typescript).
2. Parliamentary Reports on Election Results from Some
Pradesh Congress Committee (Urdu Mimeograph);
New Delhi, All India Congress Committee, 1967.
3. Press Statement issued by Sohail Ahmad, General-
Secretary, Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, Bihar,
(Typescript), 1966 or 1967.

4. Resolution passed by the All India MMM at its Meeting held in Delhi on June 19 and 20, 1965 (Typescript).
5. Resolution passed by the All India MMM on May 20-21, 1970 (Urdu Mimeograph).
6. Recommendations of the Committee set up by the All India MMM in its meeting held on ^{March} 10, 1974 (Urdu Mimeograph).
7. Report of the General-Secretary of the All-India MMM presented in the open meeting of the All India MMM at Delhi on March 10, 1974 (Urdu Mimeograph).

(D) Newspapers and Periodicals

*
The Statesman (New Delhi)
Hindu Outlook (Delhi)
Secular Democracy (Delhi)
The Times of India (New Delhi)
Pratap (Delhi)
The Hindu (Madras)
Al-Jamiat (Delhi)
Dawat (Delhi)
Radiance Views Weekly (Delhi)
Qaumi Awaz (Lucknow)
Qaed (Lucknow)
Azad-i-Hind (Calcutta)
Urdu Times (Bombay)

Link (Delhi)

The Hindustan Times (New Delhi)

Organizer (Delhi)

Al-Furqan (Lucknow)

Hamari Zuban (Kanpur)

Nida-e-Millat (Lucknow)

New Age (Delhi)

Sangam (Patna)